

THE AMERICAN IMAGO

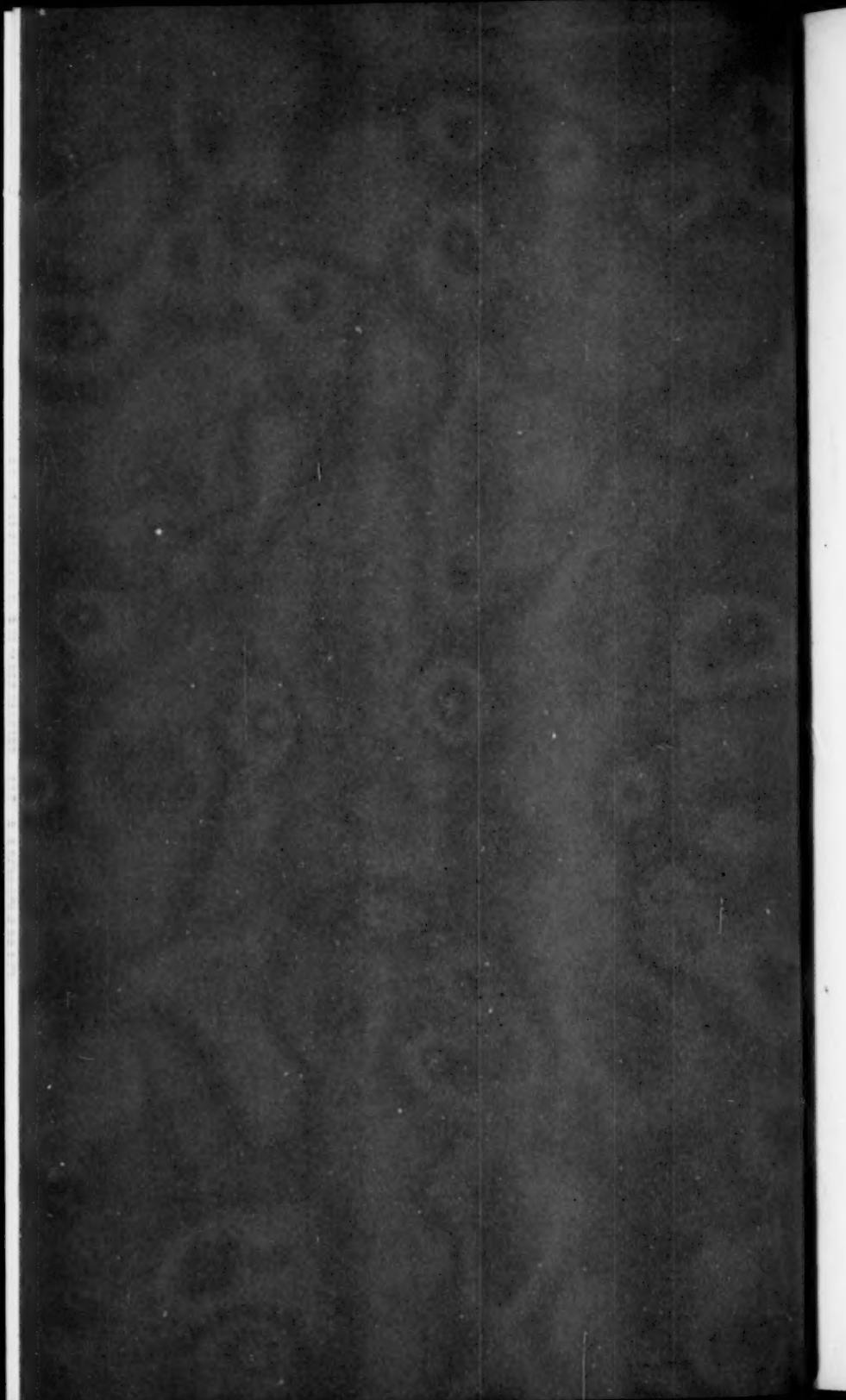
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*A Psychoanalytic Journal
for the Arts and Sciences*

Founded by: Daniel C. Sachs, Boston
Publisher and Managing Editor: George B. Wilbur, M.D.



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Planned Infancy and the Paranoid Block to Human Progress

By

James Clark Moloney M.D.

"Ah, love, let us be true
To one another! for the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here, as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.*" (1867)
..... Hitler's Caravan came to its end.

..... And so

According to Weston LaBarre:

"Whether he knows it or not, man has the key to his own future evolution in his unwitting and unready hands, for through anthropological and psychiatric knowledge and control of the bringing up of our children, we are potentially able to shape almost any kind of human personality which an increasingly integrated world would seem to require." 1)

I disagree with LaBarre. I object to the "control" and the "to shape," aspects of his declaration. His planned childhood would rob the individual of flexible maturity. His scheme sacrifices appropriate spontaneity—sacrifices appropriate spontaneity in an intellectually applied strategy designed to create similar automatons particularized for functioning in certain specific capacities and in efficient adjustment to desired cultural conditions.

In my opinion, men should not be forced to conform to cultural restraints, cultural patterns. On the contrary, resilient and loose cultural configurations should flow from aggregations of mature men and women. A. Irving Hallowell says:

"When we have more knowledge of the range and vari-
*Matthew Arnold, *Dover Beach*, from *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*,
1840-1867, published by Oxford University Press, 1930

tion in the human personality structure in relation to major provincial determinants we shall be able to state with more precision what is common to man everywhere. By that time we may be able to construct a better picture of the psychobiological structure of man as an evolving primate.”²

Only here and there over the face of the earth do we catch a glimpse of the type of culture that might flow from normally matured human beings. In each instance—among the Dyaks of Borneo, among the natives of the Kenya Colony, British East Africa, among the Arapesh of the New Guinea mountains, among the Okinawans of the Ryuku Islands—there is a flexible interrelationship between individuals. In these groups inflexible rigidities, religious, political, and postural, are conspicuously absent.

LaBarre’s controlled world smacks of Plato’s format for an ideal republic. Policed maturation has been attempted over and over again. The austere Le Compe de Nouy³ dictated a most drastic curtailment of the child’s natural expansiveness.

Milder exactions have been and are being demanded by other individuals and groups of individuals. However, any controlling operation, be it ever so mild, designed to alter by the intelligent application of force the child’s internally determined maturative rhythm and pattern, will eventuate finally into the personality makeup. The internalized authoritarian phantom (superego) materializing in the psyche in response, even in response, to a mild and intelligent application of outside control will prove more restricting or more influencing than the outside authority from which the intrapsychic authoritarian phantom—the superego—is patterned.

Because of this dynamic factor, with each succeeding generation, the internalized authoritarian phantom—the superego—becomes more demanding, more tyrannical. As a result of this internally—as a result of this intrapsychically—determined restriction, the character structure becomes more rigid. An excellently developed conscience and a penchant for war are almost synonymous.

A fact in a similar vein is known to sophisticated sociologists: Intelligent and high ranking policemen, policemen who should uphold our laws, rules and regulations, commit more acts of violence, commit more murders than are committed by members of any other occupation, excluding physicians and lawyers. People who take flight into authoritarianism, into becoming doctors, lawyers, policemen—people who take flight into making laws and enforcing them identify themselves with the laws they serve. Policemen transcend the law. Because of their god-like assumptions they use their laws like a sceptre, a sceptre to control and discipline others. This affords the authoritarians a sense of superiority. They feel superior to the laws they force others to obey. Gods make laws, not obey them.

Too often, unfortunately, to be the disciplinarian rather than the one disciplined is the primary motivating agent in the selection of school teaching, and nursery or maternity nursing, as a profession. Such teachers or nurses perpetuate the perfectionistic, the economical, the competitive, the authoritarian, the misanthropic, the murder-inducing aspects of the American way of life. In America a recorded murder is committed every forty-five minutes, and several hundred murders are attempted every twenty-four hours. 4) By way of contrast, for the eighty years prior to World War II, there had not been a single murder committed in the relaxed and serene prefecture of Okinawa. 5)

Character rigidities are mutualistically and inseparably interwoven into cultural patterns. A cultural pattern is composed of an aggregate of character rigidities. The presence of the cultural pattern—the sameness—the rigidity—denotes a curtailment of appropriate spontaneity—denotes curtailment of maturative progress. Cultural patterning connotes the effective prevalence of similar superego figures. These similar superego figures transmitted by similar mothers perpetuate outmoded and onerous cultural patterns. A. Irving Hallowell says it briefly, without highlighting or emphasizing the incalculable significance of his statement:

"Man's world became one that was not simply given. It was constantly moulded by his interaction with it. Through the manner in which he represented it to himself it further became meaningful to him. But once a particular cultural system became established, a mode of life to which future generations had to adjust became perpetuated. The individual was forced to make his personal adjustment to live by means of the symbolic system provided by his society." 6)

Cultural patterning induced by the superego subsumes cultural lag, cultural inertia. This continued patterning leading to cultural lags exercises a most damaging effect upon the proper development of man.

Under conditions of cultural intellectualism as a pattern, the individual becomes adjusted to economy, perfectionism, organization, power. He ceases to possess the most human quality of appropriate spontaneity. He subjects emotional responsiveness to strict control. His mind serves him rather than his heart. He becomes a thinker rather than a feeler.

Intellectualism is a striving after immortality. Intellectualism connotes a power system, a power orientation.

Longfellow once wrote:

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time." 7)

This poem chants a most typical American slogan or cliché. Such slogans command each American to become signally and posthumously honored on a bronze plaque.

"THE LIVES OF GREAT MEN"

Great men, power, paranoidism, suppression of human emotions, economizing, categorizing intellectualism—striving for immortality, deification of the authoritarian, rigid or lead pipe posturing, staccato marching in unison, living for posterity instead of living for today are intermingled in the power gestalt.

Planned infancy eventually leads to a generation that

lives for tomorrow, lives for the life hereafter, lives for power. This power complex is wrapped up with men, with the patriarchal institutions. "The lives of great men!" The names of great women! The Molly Pitchers, the Madame Curies, the Catherines the Great, the Victorias, are so numerically infrequent that they are practically inconspicuous.

Great men are notoriously mysogynistic. To build his Republic, Plato, a male, one of the world's greatest thinkers, intended to remove children from their mothers. Today Plato's intention is accomplished: male-dominated hospital managements, obstetricians (most often men), and maternity nurses—who are usually fibroid characters and are really more man than woman in their thinking and their economy—actually remove babies from mothers. (N.B. See bottom.) Buddha deserted his wife. In a community under the aegis of the great Confuscious, women were constrained to the use of but one side of the street. 8) Christ aided and abetted a woman's degradation by permitting Magdalene to wash his feet with her hair. Freud became charitable toward women in his old age. Sri Ramakrishna at times was conscious of his hatred of women. At other times he screened his hatred by a severe reverence for the Goddess Kali. Arthur Schopenhauer openly debased women. To Mohammed, women were devoid of souls.

The great monotheistic religions, representing the fantastic elaborations of great men—hate women. Orthodox judaism discriminates against women. The orthodox Jew in his daily prayers thanks God every day that he was not made a woman. The Jewish father is the Lord and Master; the Jewish women are subject to segregation at the Temple services. Not too long ago the menstruating Jewish woman was forced to remain apart from Jewish men until after

N.B. Historical instances of male-instigated rejection of children have been collected by Mr. A. J. Levin in an article to be published in the near future called "Infant and Child Rejection and Abandonment in the Cultural Record."

the ritual ablution signalled the end of the menstrual period. And, of course, Paul of Tarsus evidenced a hostile attitude toward women. In I Cor. 7:1 he said:

"Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me:
It is good for a man not to touch a woman."

And in I Cor. 14:34-5 he repeated his hostile attitude:

"Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it
is not permitted unto them to speak: but they are com-
manded to be under obedience as also saith the law.

And if they will learn anything, let them ask their hus-
bands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak
in the church."

Mrs. Agnes Russell Gray in a personal communication to me stated that:

"Paul was trained as an intellectual from 13 years of
age when he became the pupil of the famed Jewish schol-
ar, Gamaliel in the rabbincial school of Jerusalem. He
(Paul how Christian) (N.B.) expresses plainly the tra-
ditional Jewish attitude toward women."

In Catholicism, women attending Church are forced to wear head covers. There has never been a woman Pope. At times the Catholic woman, because of scanty attire, is degraded by a humiliating ejection from the Church. The Catholic Church abandons the mother to her death, should she suffer a fatal pregnancy. Until recently Mohammedanism did not pretend to respect the rights of women. Lawrence Rocklein and Robert M. Lindner 9) point out that American Christianity masks its hatred of women by a mother sanctification that is by its very nature an overcompensation for hate.

When men think, they cease to love. Of course it would be more correct to say that when men cease to love—they think, and become rigid. They lose warmth and fluidity. They think of self-recognition—of dominions of power. Man

(N.B.) (Parenthesis is mine. J.C.M.)

(as opposed to woman) has used his mind to contrive a system of social restraints and control that will, given time, eventually destroy the human race.

The intellectual "great man" accumulates knowledge or odd bits of information or extensive bibliographies or spins astonishing formulae for no other purpose than to dazzle with a blinding light the intellects of other "great men." This "genius" and this is characteristic of the sciolistic species, lacks confidence in himself and in everything and everyone outside himself. He feels threatened at all times, and he is particularly threatened by other pedants of estimable skill. The great man ineptly concealing a secret yearning to be declared a genius makes a bid for immortality.

At a special conclave, copiously sprinkled with great intellects, I listened to discussions that lifted me to the highest summit of the Tower of Babel. It was not alone because the conclave was constituted of different professional disciplines that an incomprehensible jargon churned the air, but it was because each autarchal mind insisted that the material be couched in his own respective and particular system of language.

One autoocrat blessed with a gift for intellectual pyrotechnics and a memory for dates and references bowled over the other "great men" and routed them in confusion. The other great men went to bed with headaches and severe cases of jitters. The presence of this one frightened expert evidencing a flair for intellectual gymnastics sabotaged the entire meeting by demoralizing most of the other participants.

The intellectual autoocrat trusts no one. In fact his intellectual autocracy stems from a sense of distrust originating in his first contact with a human being—the mother person. If the mother's attitude is not an unconditionally loving attitude and genuinely infantocentric for the first two or three years of the child's life, the child develops a distrust of the parent. Perhaps the most notorious source of induced distrust stems from maternal unpredictability. In the face of these maternal vicissitudes, the child gives up. He ceases

to attempt harmony with the mother. If at the same time he discovers within himself a mental sufficiency, a mental efficiency, he will cast off his intellect. His own mind becomes the self-contained predictable nursing mother that takes the place of the other unpredictable outside mother—the mother that had confronted him with a series of uncontrolled and not anticipated abandonments. This new mother—the intellect—is laced with omnipotent strivings, is laced with a need for immediate gratification to substantiate the claim of omnipotence. A god gets what he wants when he wants it—or else he is not a god.

The autarchal, ambitious intellectualism replaced the original dependency upon the mother. The replacement is a surface replacement. The dependency is underneath. It is thus coated over by layers of self-sufficiency. When the sense of self-sufficiency is jeopardized by the spectre of failure, the ambitious intellectual finds himself confronted again with ego-alien dependency needs. This special conflict breeds the peptic ulcer syndrome. A charade of the difficulty takes place at either the distal end of the stomach or in the duodenal cap. The pylorospasm that precedes the formation of the ulcer crater attempts to negate the oral striving. I have caused this pylorospasm to subside by adopting a gruff manner and authoritatively ordering the ulcer patient to bed. By my severe attitude I leave no doubt in his mind that I do not intend to be disobeyed. I deliberately bring about a situation in which he can relax and enjoy his dependency.

Anything that shakes his belief in his own omnipotence of thought robs him again of the mother and exposes him, naked and helpless, to the unpredictable danger of a hostile world. No wonder intellectual greats are ruthless and murderous in their persecutory inquisitions and pogroms.* In addition to the effects of his years of dependency and his

*In fact if murderers—murderers who actually commit murder—are grouped according to occupation, physicians and lawyers head the list.

months of delayed ambulation, man's capacity to think has contributed to his undoing. I realize full well it would be more correct to say that it is not the capacity to think that is catastrophic to man, but that it is the neurotically ordained misuse and misdirection of intelligence that threatens man's existence. Nevertheless, man stalks disaster by substituting intellectual activity for feeling activity.

However, a person intellectually oriented, possessing an insight into the dynamic nature of the omnipotent mechanism is capable of a realistic approach to problems of power.

The great intellect, this artificial mother, this mother synthesized from part of one's own brain power, is more desirous of controlling people than desirous of controlling things. Jittery, tense, distrustful, the great intellect is a great eye—a great eye that is ever watchful—alert to the need to destroy the developing organization of a rival power. The "feelers," those who feel instead of think, are not suspicious. Power intoxicated warring factions descend upon them before they are aware.

And nothing ever changes. Century after century, man unwittingly creates the intellects that destroy him. Stalin is no different than Hitler. Aristophanes in the fourth century B.C. attempted to stop world destruction. He knew before Christ the difference between the feelers (women) and the thinkers (men). In his play *Lysistrata* the women proposed to end the seemingly ever-lasting Spartan-Athenian war by sexually arousing the men and then denying them intercourse. It is stating the obvious, unfortunately, that wars have continued since the time of Aristophanes.

How many wars have been started by women? Women do not start wars. Women's values are different, different from the values treasured by men. A man boasting of superior intellectual power is the avowed and secret enemy of every other intellectually committed male. A woman boasting of genuine love for her baby is loved by all other women who are capable of loving children. Before the more or less recent masculinization of women, twenty murders were com-

mitted by men to every murder committed by women. In the present nefarious progress toward masculinizing women*, there are but eight murders committed by men to every murder committed by women.

Because of selective blindness, consequent to power drives, it is not strange that man despite his intelligence and the multiplicity of his intellectual brain children, his intellectual products, has not, throughout the known history of man, intellectually and adequately coped with the initial source of his emotional problems: The significance of the early mutuality between mother and child for emotional maturation has never been adequately comprehended by him.

A study of this mother-child mutuality would highlight the importance of feeling—the importance and desirability of spontaneous feeling in preference to intellectual control. A man oriented in power schemes surrenders his artificially assumed autarchal position, when he recognizes feeling as an essential human trait. In a world populated with "male gods" and male "great men" it is not strange that the minds of "great men" unconsciously turn away from the intellectual consideration of a subject that could dethrone them. N.B.

There are many resistances to seeing that which should be observed. Since every great man is a king in his own right, a king in his own name, there is very little meeting of minds—meeting of minds of great men. The great man—the great thinker—is safe, secure and non-threatening only when his assumed kingship is completely accepted. Another mental giant, another great man, another great thinker, another king could not render him this acceptance. Each great man applies to himself the first commandment:

*See also *Psychiatric Quarterly*: Editorial "These are my Jewels."
Oct. 1946

N.B. What to do with men (as opposed to women) is a subject not germane to the scope of this manuscript.

"I am the Lord Thy God. Thou shall not have strange gods before me."

Gods cannot tolerate each other. The factions, the megalomanias, the jealousies occurring among psychoanalysts, for instance, are well known to intelligent sophisticates.* The getting together of "great men" to study the origin and pitfalls of the dominant employment of thinking usually ends in a sterile confusion studded by bristling and polite armed neutralities.

*Otto Sperling in a personal communication calls attention to the fact that different intimidating tactics are used by some other groups.

"Great men" in their will for power would like to make automatons out of human beings. In psychoanalytic circles they use intellectualism to achieve their goal; but among children leadership is often attained through bullying; in adolescent and criminal gangs it is not intellect that gives power, nor in politics.

The brilliant mental production squeezed out of the mind of an intellectual giant robs every other intellectual of part of his omnipotence. He is robbed, and he doesn't like it. He deliberately sets out to find flaws in the brilliant production of his enemy. If he finds just one flaw, be it ever so inconsequential, he tosses out the entire production of his "enemy." In doing so he reaffirms his own omnipotence. Sighing with a sigh of relief, he relaxes and gloats as if he had just eaten a big meal (his enemy intellectual).

It is a peculiar paradox that we call for help upon intellectual "giants," who, because they believe that they cannot be loved, substitute thinking for feeling. It is these "intellectual kings" that we call upon to solve our social problems—our social problems which, in turn, have arisen out of disturbances in the feeling sphere of the individual. We are blind to the fact that this type of philosophizing permits the intellectual giant to intellectualize feeling

rather than feel feelings—and the game goes on ad infinitum.

Today, because of the gods insisting upon the preservation of the First Commandment, we have Stalin's Korea....

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*F.B.I. statistics are taken from an article by Amy Selwyn: *Are you a Murderer*, "Pageant," Vol. 6, No. 3, September 1950.

Shakespeare's Hamlet: The Myth of Modern Sensibility

By
Harry Slochower

Recent Hamlet-criticism takes its cue from Caroline Spurgeon's assertion that *Hamlet* is not "*the problem of an individual at all, but . . . a condition for which the individual himself is apparently not responsible.*"¹⁾ The value of this approach lies in that it brings us back to the study of *Hamlet* as a whole in which the principal figure is considered as but *part* of the total dramatic situation. It is a wholesome antidote to the Romantic vogue which treats the work as a character, not as a *play*, disregarding its social framework—the state of Denmark, the Norwegian campaign, the role of Fortinbras etc.

However, the analysis of *Hamlet* as the tragedy of a noble character in an ignoble society appears truncated. To begin with, it makes a sharp separation between Hamlet (who is noble) and his state (which is evil). Thereby it lifts Hamlet out of his setting even as it purports to place him within the objective situation. Moreover, it ignores or neglects the *individual motivation* of Hamlet. This individual motivation, it should be noted, is an essential characteristic of the very framework which this approach would consider.

The aim of this essay is to discuss *Hamlet* as the integration of both the objective condition and the problem of the individual within the framework of the mythic pattern. That is, the essay will deal with the play as an organic fusion of

I. *A universal myth* in which Hamlet re-enacts the recurrent phases of the mythic hero (the three stages or acts, followed by an epilogue).

II. *A Renaissance myth* which organizes the sensibility of Shakespeare's transitional epoch.

III. *An individual psychologic burden* which is a resultant of the new function which individual freedom and

responsibility assume in the Renaissance. Hamlet's psychological involvements thus assume major proportions in the problem of the modern mythic hero.

The Universal Myth

Mythic Heritage and Design

Although critics do not agree on the precise nature of Hamlet's personality, his problem is felt to be that of Everyman's. Indeed, one might say that "the Hamlet-problem" has become something of a mythic figure of speech. It is related to recurrent dilemmas faced by the individual, by nations (the German poet Ferdinand Freiligrath declared that "Deutschland ist Hamlet") and by mankind in general.

Now, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* does not have the same aged-old and misty background, characteristic of earlier literary myths, of the Hebrew Job, the Greek Prometheus, Oedipus and Orestes, the Roman Aeneas, the Catholic Dante and the Spanish Don Quixote. This relative absence of temporal depth is a characteristic for almost every modern myth.

Yet, even in Hamlet, we have a tale whose origin is uncertain and into which has gone the composite labor of many peoples. The story is not Shakespeare's invention, but belongs to a rich legendary ancestry, a fusion of Icelandic, Irish, French, possibly Roman and Persian elements. The story goes far back into the heroic age of Scandinavia. Viking sailors carried the tale to Iceland from where it returned with additions from Celtic folk-lore and historical adventure.
2)

Aside from direct historic transmissions, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* sounds characteristic mythic themes: The Biblical Cain-Abel fratricide (which Shakespeare's Hamlet calls 'the first murder'), the struggle between two brothers over a woman with its precedent in the celebrated Egyptian saga of "The Two Brothers," the conflict of son and mother with its prototype in the Babylonian story of Marduk and Tiamat, the revenge on the usurping uncle which corresponds to the Hindu myth of Kans-Krishna. Hamlet's "mad-

ness" may be viewed as a modern form of the Confusion of Tongues, found in Armenian legends and in the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel. Finally, the Freudian school sees the play as incorporating the violation of two ancient taboos, the desire to possess the mother and to remove the father.

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is itself replete with mythic allusions. These are not a matter of decoration (as is the case with much of Renaissance literature), but are evocative of Hamlet's own situation. Here, as in the myth, the father-image tends to coalesce with that of the King and God. To Hamlet, his father is a Herculean hero possessing the qualities of 'every god.' In the closet-scene, Hamlet tells his mother:

‘See what a grace was seated on this brow;
Hyperion’s curls, the front of Jove himself,
An eye like Mars to threaten and command,
A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.’

The union of Hamlet's god-like father with an earthly woman is a re-enactment of the myth in which the god unites with a mortal woman (Zeus-Jupiter with Alemene-Semele-Danae) giving birth to the hero-son (Hercules-Dionysus-Perseus). Here, too, the god is dismembered and reappears on earth to shape the destiny of the family-world. He summons the hero to set forth on a "journey," imposing on him the Herculean labors to clean the rotten stables of his state. Like Gilgamesh, Aeneas and Dante, Hamlet is "tested," descends to the underworld, undergoes the rites of initiation in preparation for his readiness.

The Seasonal Ritual and Play of the Elements

The play begins and concludes with motifs suggesting the ritual of the seasonal god. *Hamlet* opens with the theme of winter and death and closes with the death of Hamlet and

the promise of his rebirth in the figures of Horatio-Fortinbras. The platform scene presents the seasonal ritual in a mock form. As Hamlet waits for the appearance of the Ghost, he hears in the distance the sounds of Claudius' "Dionysian" carousal, drinking his Rhennish wines. The Ghost has come to reveal that the new king and his spring-like celebration in marriage were false assumptions. At the end of the play, the death-duel assumes the character of a similar mock-celebration and carousal ('the queen carouses to thy fortune, Hamlet'), with the hope in the new succession of Fortinbras. 3)

The elements of water, fire, earth and air are interwoven with the life and destiny of the characters and appear in a state of transition. At the beginning, they hold nature and man in an icy and eery grip. The Ghost emerges from 'sulphurous and tormenting flames' and summons Hamlet towards his duty on earth. At the end, the elements are loosened and dissolved: the drowned Ophelia is brought to her earthy rest, the fire of the duel is followed by the drinking of the wine, and the play ends with Horatio's prayer that 'flights of angels' accompany Hamlet on his way to heaven while Fortinbras bids the soldiers to "shoot." 4)

In Hamlet, the over-all character, the elements rage as in a tempest. He begins in a sluggish state, wishing that the 'solid flesh' would 'melt.' The Ghost's message instils him with the fire of revenge which unfolds itself in wild and whirling movements, in passions which would 'drink hot blood,' in an airy dialectic of 'words.' At the end, he contemplates man's earthy origin and destiny, leaps into Ophelia's grave, is wounded by the fiery poison of Laertes' sword, and is led off to the accompaniment of Horatio's heavenly invocation and the 'music' of Fortinbras' soldiers.

If the opening midnight scene suggests a terrain somewhere between heaven and hell, and the ending invokes 'flights of angels,' the drama proper is enacted on earth. This earth is weedy or 'rotten.' Claudius is the master of this earthly kingdom with his adviser Polonius "feeding" him

maggots and carrion (the metaphors associated with his character). Gertrude is the vegetative, sensual element of the earthy, fluid in her unresisting acceptance and surrender, finally "drowning" in the poisoned wine.⁵⁾ The references to Ophelia are in terms of a 'sweet' spring-flower, not yet awakened to sensuality—until she "matures" in her mad songs. Like Gertrude, she is watery in her soft and submissive nature (Hamlet calls her a 'nymph'), giving in to the slightest pressure of father and mother.—In the play as a whole, the elements appear as a natural and human tempest, authentic in Hamlet, evil, rotten or chaotic in the other characters. In Shakespeare's last work, the nature-elements are liberated from their distortions in the human-worldly frame and return to their native 'tempest.'

The Myth of the Renaissance

The Noble Legacy of Freedom

The myth rests on tradition and continuity, makes us feel that we all live in one and the same world. However, each culture develops its own mythic structure and vocabulary. History is the conditioning matrix in which the myth is bred. And history can feed or starve the myth.

The Renaissance presents an ambiguous attitude towards tradition. On the one hand, it was a *re*-birth of older patterns. But in its extreme phase, it meant to break sharply with its feudal-Catholic ancestry. The individual was to be born, not out of, but against his past collective. Even where it paid homage to classical values, its strong sense of freedom and individualism prevent its artists from fully accepting former modes. The old mythic tradition is either ignored and bypassed or, where used, it is not believed in. The French myth of Racine revives ancient mythic themes. But the old symbols do not fit the new historic life and his myth does not come alive. The sterile forms of the 17th century Palace and Salon around Racine's *Phedre* and the Jansenist mood in *Athalie* do not evoke the sense of Greek Moira and the Biblical Law. Rabelais' Gargantua would discard

the trappings of the classical myth as well, his very birth announcing a break with the traditional cord. Gargantua is still reared on classical models and his counsels to Pantagruel would temper the son's irreverence. But the Renaissance contained a more impious attitude towards tradition.

In its philosophical formulation, it spoke of man as a "tabula rasa," owing nothing to the past, but all to its present and future which became the new Golden Age. It was not the Christian future with its fixed heaven and its everduring reference to an historic Christ who would return as Redeemer. The eternal spheres of the medieval Before and Hereafter were replaced by freely moving platforms: Experience which was mercurial, Reason and Science which were speculative. The finite universe of Being was loosened into an infinite, ever-widening cosmos of Becoming. The unified all-embracing vision gave way to multiple "perspectivism," the classic-medieval notion of certainty to the multiplicity of possibilities. The universal church and language were split into varieties of worship and national tongues. Consolation no longer lay in substantive philosophy, religion or myth, but was to be derived from "play" among possible alternatives. The mythic *What* yielded to the scientific and specialized skill of the *How*.

This heliocentric system dislocated the firm center which had once given man steady norms in society, ethics and religion. The Dantean reference to an objectively existing reality providing public truth was supplanted by the categories of *privacy and interiorization*: the private market and private church, the private experience, the private ("closet") theatre and plot. All this made for a new type of mythic hero, one who does not require the guiding hand of Yahweh, Moira or God, the counsel of a Chorus, or the intercession of a Virgil, Beatrice or Dulcinea. He does not play a role, but *the role*. Freed from authority, the hero becomes an exploratory "journey-man" who must seek within himself the norms of belief and conduct.

However, this extreme rejection of old canons presented

a problem to those who "remembered" their Catholic fathers, who saw value in the ideas of a King, of Honor and of Providence. They embraced experience, but reflected that experience does not stay; they sought freedom, but felt emptied where freedom from was not supplemented by freedom for; they affirmed scientific objectivity, but could not be content with a positivistic science which did not rest on firm hypotheses and which could not cope with overlap situations; they answered the call to action, but saw that action was historically limited, that it could be "right" only for the temporal moment; they saw the beckoning of the future, but realized that the future was not present, and that unless geared to universal norms, it bereft man of lasting values; they saw the need for individual responsibility, but also the need for a communal platform. In sum, freedom and the open realm of possibilities were liberating and enriching, but also perplexing and confusing.

Shakespeare's universality appears in his sensibility to these several strains in the Renaissance. He acknowledged the new, but also adhered to the old. In Fortinbras and Coriolanus, he presented the possible good in "pure" action, and in figures, such as King Lear, he offered the noble residue of the past. At the same time, he saw the senility of what was once royalty, as well as the consciencelessness of the rising commercial hagglers. That is, Shakespeare encompasses the *overlap* situation: Socially, between the nobility and the bourgeois; in over-all terms, between traditional philosophy-art-myth and the pressing temporal needs of life and action, between integration of the self in "the great chain of being" and the call for unattached individual expression. The problem arises early and tentatively in Julius Caesar-Cassius, and is fought out in the breast of Brutus. At the end of Shakespeare's life, it appears as a final dichotomy between Prospero and Gonzalo. Its most powerful and sensitive form is Hamlet in whom struggle the call of the dead king and the demands of the new type of rule, and who must face both in terms of the existing present dominated by "fish-mongers."

Hamlet's problem is more complex and on a more mature level than that of any other Renaissance character. This protesting hero is nearer to and has closer kinship with his classic-medieval heritage. He feels greater need for trans-individual sanction, is more ready to acknowledge the traditional collective, the values of religion, of God, society and the family. His *mythic* role emerges from his memories of the past, even as he would live in the present and plan for the future.

Yet, Hamlet is a man of his time in that tradition is not as binding for him as it was for earlier mythic heroes from Oedipus to Don Quixote. These simply and as a matter of course placed the welfare of their commune as the natural objective of their action, even if it should lead to their own downfall. Hamlet begins with questioning his society. The ancestral voice no longer has the same compelling force, and although it calls on him 'by heaven and hell' to carry out its task, he cannot do so. Tradition is to him a Ghost, appearing in 'questionable shape,' in whom Hamlet cannot believe as did Aeneas or Don Quixote.

To be sure, the present is "alive." But, to Hamlet, it is weedy and seedy, its pleasures gross and sensual, its mirth 'heavy-headed revel.' The King is a satyr, the Queen a 'pernicious woman,' the people a 'distracted multitude,' the state 'rotten.'

There is the future of Fortinbras. It makes 'mouths at the invisible event,' is not concerned with the hoary tradition of ancestral revenge. It beckons Hamlet from the distance, and in the end, he gives it his 'dying voice.' But its faith in life and action is won by absence of memory. It identifies the historical with the eternal, the means with the end. It plays with and uses man's infinite possibilities, giving little thought that man is limited and must revert to dust. All of these—the voice from the past, the demands of the new age call on him to act. And, while Hamlet must act, he cannot find sanction for his action.

Hamlet's dilemma arises from the circumstance that he

can do neither with nor without the old substantive myth, can live neither with nor without the new fugitive values. The result is not a cancelling out, but an *active swerving* between the two, not a Pyrrhic scepticism, but a pendular swing between action and inaction, between faith and doubt. He knows enough for asserting the values both of 'to be' and of 'not to be,'—yet, does not know enough to fuse them into a whole. He incorporates the noble legacy of a doubt which does not rest in, but questions doubt, while making a heroic effort towards resolution by thought, passion and action. Here perhaps lies our deep affinity with Hamlet. More than the "free" heroes of Kafka and the existentialists, Hamlet hints at the source for our own irresolutions, hesitations and feelings of inadequacy.

The absence of an acceptable communal reference forces Hamlet to draw on his own inner resources. This gives the play the character of *privacy* and *interiorization*. But Hamlet cannot 'be bounded in a nutshell.' He believes that there are objective norms of right and wrong. His difficulty lies in not knowing which action or inaction corresponds to these norms. Is he to live in accordance with past tradition (the Ghost), present allegiances (his mother and Claudius), or with a moving future (Fortinbras)? Hamlet would act out all of them at the same time. But all action is specific and limited, and Hamlet cannot be the whole. His "error" consists in *his inability to be a specialist* in an age of developing specializations. His "virtue" lies in recognizing the merits of this very specialization. Hence, when he does act, he blames himself for not considering the alternative of inaction; and when he does not act, he condemns himself for letting 'all sleep.'

This ambiguity of choice haunts Hamlet throughout the play. It appears in his very attitude towards the summoner to revenge. For Hamlet, he may be 'an honest ghost' from a Catholic Purgatory who has received permission to appear on earth; or he may be a 'fiend,' a Protestant apparition which can appear on earth only as a devil. This dialectic

carries over into Hamlet's attitude towards his mother, Ophelia, even to Claudius.

The Stages of Hamlet's Mythic Journey

The myth accepts the communal heritage as a living function. Its first stage is an Eden-state in which the individual is at home and feels himself at one with his group living in unity and harmony. There follows the second stage in which the individual is alienated from his group. He becomes "the dangerous child" and turns against his collective. He begins his "Journey" which tests his readiness to transform the personal into the generally human. In the course of his passage, the hero commits "the crime" through an excess of revolt, an excess resulting from his insufficient knowledge of the evil to be combatted. Partial awareness of his excess leads to wavering, uncertainty or "madness." When the hero comes to know the excess of his revolt, he is ready to accept the living residue of his tradition as part of his emancipated ego. This is the third stage in which the hero returns to his group having brought about a re-creation of its tradition. This re-affirmation or the acceptance of the myth is the communal voice within the individual. This acceptance depends on the extent to which the hero can find this valuable residue in the collective of his own historic epoch.

Now, as we have indicated, Shakespeare's age lacked the communal identification of the older myth. Hence, where the classic hero goes *through* the second stage of the Quest, the Renaissance hero stays mainly in the midway stage of secession. Indeed, Hamlet is the *first mythic hero who does not carry out his mission* until it no longer matters, the first to condemn and to question himself from the beginning.

Stage One

Hamlet's first stage precedes the opening of the play. He is at home, apparently united in love with his family. The Father-King figure has the attributes of a God, and takes on the universal character of mana—Substance. Now, the

mana-possessing personality wields both divine and demonie power. In the consciousness of young Hamlet, he was a benign figure. Later (with the father's death offering a realistic motivation), an ambiguity arises and his shape becomes 'questionable'.

Similarly, the mother appeared a queen and a saint. The Ghost ascribes Claudius' success in winning over Gertrude to 'witchcraft of his wits.' It is thus, the Ghost says, that he gained 'the will of my most seeming-virtuous queen.' We may reasonably identify the Ghost's view with Hamlet's own 'prophetic voicee.' In any case, the mother as saint is usual in the innocent boyhood-state.

If the father was a God-King and the mother a Saint-Queen, Ophelia was a heavenly child or an innocent nature-flower. In her case, as in that of the mother, we can surmise Hamlet's earlier view by his later extreme reaction. Following the Ghost's disclosures, the mother-saint becomes a prostitute, and the 'celestial' Ophelia fit for a house of ill fame or 'nunnery.'

Stage Two: 1. Homeleaving and Protest

The second stage also sets in before the opening of the drama: Hamlet leaves home. Here, we have the reenactment of the "setting out" of the mythic hero. Now, Hamlet is not set out as Oedipus, not sent away as Orestes, nor deserted as the sons of Fyodor Karamazov. However, it was presumably during his stay away from home that Hamlet lost his father (and therewith his love), and it was during his absence that his mother married Claudius which, in Hamlet's interpretation, meant that she ceased to love him, or no longer loved him as much.

Hamlet goes to Wittenberg, Luther's university. If we can judge from his subsequent intellectual and emotional temper, he learns there to "protest", to doubt and question. But Hamlet's Protestantism is dialectically limited. For he is the son of a Catholic father whom he "remembers." Hamlet acquires the skill to fence on both sides, to find arguments

for being and non-being, for acting and not acting, for self-esteem and self-depreciation. The study of philosophy in Wittenberg provides Hamlet with a *theory* of Reality, a *method* of approach. He learns there how to think and to act, but not *what* to think and do.

2. *Return to the Cave of Existence*

When Hamlet returns from the university, he faces the what of reality. Experience is at odds with the theory he and Horatio had learned at Wittenberg. After he has seen the Ghost he tells his friend that there are more things in heaven and on earth than are dreamt of in his philosophy. The changes which have taken place in his absence cruelly shatter the unity of the innocent stage. He has lost his father, feels himself estranged from his mother, Ophelia and the court, and at odds with his uncle-father. He asks leave to return to Wittenberg. But it is too late or too early for consolation by the philosophic view of the whole, and he readily accedes to his mother's request to stay. His soul has been expelled from Eden, and must now begin its tortuous journey through the woods of life's Inferno.

Before Hamlet speaks with the Ghost, he is, as yet, in relative equilibrium. His mother's re-marriage shocks him into a deep, black, but *settled*, mood of melancholy and pessimism. Her action results in his unreserved and undialectic condemnation of the world. It becomes for him an unweeded garden, grown to seed, and its uses 'weary, stale, flat and unprofitable.'

At this point, Hamlet undergoes the rites of initiation. He descends to the underworld-platform where he faces and hears the voice of Death ordering him to confront the dragon, Nimrod-Herod-Claudius. 6) The disclosure brings him the recognition that 'the time is out of joint.'

This disjointedness is foreshadowed from the beginning: the mid-night scene on the Platform, the soldier Francisco challenging the officer Barnardo, the appearance of the Ghost which, to Horatio, 'bodes some strange eruption'. The next

seen at Elsinore reveals the disjointed and transitional character in the affairs of the state: We hear that the funeral of Hamlet's father was followed by the Queen's remarriage (producing 'mirth in funeral . . . dirge in marriage. . . delight and dole'), and learn of the peace-war situation following the demands of young Fortinbras. This disjointed dialectic continues to dominate the entire play, its mood and metaphors, its action and philosophic outlook. It has its center in Hamlet.

3. *Hesitations*

The command of the Ghost that Hamlet revenge the murderer is issued at the beginning. Claudius is not killed until the end of the five-act play. What factors account for the delay?

In the earlier versions, Ernest Jones points out, both the motive and the delay are traced to political and external factors. In the old saga, Feng (Claudius) murders in public, and only physical difficulties delay Amleth's revenge and triumph. In Shakespeare, not the political, but the familial is in the foreground, and the external difficulties in carrying out the mission are minimized. 7)

Coleridge and the Romantics have popularized the "inner" approach, arguing that Hamlet is too much of a speculative thinker to be a practical actor. This interpretation has produced the vogue of references to "Hamlet" traits in dreamy and idling characters, such as Goethe's Werther, Jacobsen's Niels Lhynne, Ibsen's Hjalmar Ekdal and the Russian "nichevo" figures. But Shakespeare's hero is no such "Hamlet." He is a philosopher, to be sure; but he is also a soldier, a courtier, and a skilled fencer. Indeed, at the risk of some overstatement, it may be said that *Hamlet* is the most active character in the play. Hamlet's behavior is sharp, pointed, decisive in everything he undertakes — except for the main task before him. He does not hesitate to follow the Ghost, kill Polonius, deliver Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern to their death, fence with Laertes. Only where

Claudius is involved, do we find Hamlet uncertain and hesitant.

We have already referred to the opposite view which sees Hamlet's problem in terms of the objective social situation. It stresses the corruption of the regime and Hamlet's desire to gain the throne and help restore the welfare of the state. Smirnov's Marxist study goes furthest in this direction, arguing that Hamlet is "caught between the corruption of the court, the vulgarity of the growing bourgeoisie, and the masses in whom he has no belief."

Now, it is true that Claudius' regime is corrupt. But is it as corrupt as Hamlet says it is? In the play, Claudius is shown eager to make amends, promising Hamlet the succession, and trying to appease him. His rule is no worse than that of kings in the Tudor era, and not without skill in maintaining peace in the land. It is only after Hamlet discloses his threatening design that Claudius moves against him in the interests of self-preservation. Hamlet not only overstates the case against Claudius—he overstates the case against the world. He moves from his condemnation of Gertrude and Claudius to an arraignment of the universe and of himself as well. The objective social situation in his Denmark is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for explaining these phenomena, for plucking out the heart of what Hamlet calls, his 'mystery.' We must also examine Hamlet's own projective thinking. As he tells Rosenkrantz, 'there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so.' It is his 'thinking,' he says, which makes Denmark a prison to him. This is followed immediately by the confession that he has 'bad dreams.'

4. *The Psychic Burden*

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* cannot be discussed as a Renaissance work in the same sense in which we speak of the two Oedipus dramas and the Divine Comedy as Greek and Catholic products. These may be said to be communally representative, and the problem of Oedipus and of Dante is

nearly identical with that of their culture. This is not the case with *Hamlet*. We rightly think of the play as primarily concerned with the exceptional character of its hero. This feature is itself a mark of the Renaissance which shifted from the communal and anonymous to the personalized portraiture of the "nomo singulare." In *Hamlet*, the Renaissance produced its most subtle differentiation, its dramatic Mona Lisa. The mythic reference shifts from the collective to the personal. Psychologic individual differentiation becomes an essential aspect of the new myth.

Hamlet lacks the communal platform of earlier culture heroes. He feels himself alone, without a clear-cut voice of tradition, alienated from the reigning symbols of his time, and seeing but faint outlines of the future. To "know" himself, he cannot rely on the classical oracle or on the divine aid of Dante's world. Hamlet must try to analyze himself by himself. For this reason, the *psychology* of the myth and Hamlet's personal ordeal are more crucial in this instance. The ordeal is not unrelated to the social and cultural framework of the Renaissance, but is less organically interlocked with it than in the case of any earlier cultural hero.

T. S. Eliot has criticized the play on the ground that Hamlet's emotions cannot be explained by the dramatic situation, that they are "in excess of the facts as they appear." Some have declared the play a "mystery." J. Dover Wilson concludes his penetrating study by stating that "we are never intended to reach the heart of the mystery." On the other hand, the psychoanalytic school (Freud, Rank, Jones) holds that their approach can yield basic insights.

In brief, the Freudian theory argues that Hamlet is held back from killing Claudius because the latter is the realization of his own repressed infantile wishes: the death of his father and the sexual desire for his mother. Hamlet covers up this love by pretended affection for Ophelia. He is largely unaware of this conflict within himself, having repressed his unpermitted desires. The repressed energy seeks outlets in many secondary acts which wear him out.

Hamlet's attitude towards Claudius is a complex projection of his attitude towards himself: disgust with his infantile wishes to take his father's place by the side of his mother, mixed with admiration for Claudius' ability to successfully carry through the plan to replace his father. Only when the possibility of incest is removed—when his mother is dead and Hamlet knows he is going to die—is he free "to slay his other self." (Jones)

Now, this analysis presents a psychological examination of *Hamlet*, apart from its literary form. However, as Professor Oscar Campbell well insists, our task is to see whether its approach is borne out by Shakespeare's art, its metaphors, structure and imagery. If the psychoanalytic interpretation is valid, then *literary* analysis, if it penetrates deep enough, should come to much the same conclusion, though it may be couched in a different vocabulary. The earliest example of such an approach through literary method is the analysis by A. C. Bradley, written back in 1904. 8)

Our own examination has convinced us that the Freudian theory throws most light on Hamlet's 'mystery,' as well as on his role as a mythic figure. It is true that Hamlet cannot be analyzed as though he were a living person, and we are unable to say what were Shakespeare's own intentions. But, as Maud Bodkin has remarked, this is not our task. The problem is to examine the actual drama itself and the experience which it communicates to us. This experience is necessarily *ours*, not that of an Elizabethan. But it is not possible nor desirable that we cancel the psychologic awareness that our own age has given us. In Maud Bodkin's formulation, "it is with the complete resources of our minds that we must appreciate, if appreciation is to be genuine."

Oedipus-Hamlet

Oedipus kills his father and marries his mother. Both acts are committed publicly and without Oedipus' apparent knowledge of his relation to Laios and Jocasta. When Oedipus discovers his patricide and incest, he punishes himself

most horribly, thereby admitting a measure of personal guilt.

In Shakespeare's play, there is no actual patricide or incest. Yet, its hero is tortured by 'bad dreams' and by guilt-feelings from the outset. It suggests the *modern* mythic character who has committed the crime in *fantasy* or *thought*, for whom *symbolic* action is real action.

Let us first examine Hamlet's own judgment of himself. Almost from the start, Hamlet condemns himself

'That I, the son of a dear father murder'd,

Prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell,

Must like a whore unpak my heart with words.' (II, 2)
Later (IV, 5), he accuses himself in much the same terms. The question here is not simply whether Hamlet actually *does* procrastinate, but that he himself thinks that he is procrastinating and feels a kind of will-paralysis. Now, the reasons are not clear to him. But he does "know" enough to feel guilty. He confesses to Ophelia that though he may be 'indifferent honest,' yet he could accuse himself of such things

'that it were better my mother had not borne me . . .
with more offences at my back than I have thoughts to
put them in, imagination to give them shape, or time to
act them in.'

And to Horatio, he speaks of his imagination which may be 'as foul as Vulcan's stithy.' (III, 2)

What are the grounds for Hamlet's self-depreciation? They can not be accounted for in anything he has done or in what he has deliberately and consciously set out to do. They are secret grounds which Hamlet would keep secret. The note of *secrecy* pervades the play and especially the manner of Hamlet's behavior. The drama opens with a secret message, imparted to Hamlet alone at a secret place. When Hamlet returns, he solemnly pledges his friends to secrecy. The Ghost's appearance in the closet-scene is again a secret known only to Hamlet. His over-all secret is the hidden reason for his delay in executing the Ghost's commission, despite the fact, as Hamlet admits, that he has 'cause, and will, and strength, and means' to do so. (IV, 5).

But Hamlet does know that he has bad dreams. The theme of his bad dreams and his fear of them also comes to the surface in the famous soliloquy of 'to be, or not to be.' Here, Hamlet identifies or associates death and sleep. And what troubles him is that sleep does not 'end the heart-ache,' for in that sleep 'what dreams may come.'

We now proceed to an examination of Hamlet's attitude and action (as distinguished from his own interpretation of them) as a possible clue to the cause of which he himself is 'unpregnant.'

Nature, Sex and Women

Before his return from the university, young Hamlet appears to have regarded the world, nature and women as pure and noble. His parents' marital relation seemed ideal and Ophelia his 'soul's idol.' Neither the mother nor Ophelia were to him then associated with sex—indeed, Ophelia appears almost sexless.

When Hamlet comes back from Wittenberg to find his mother married to Claudius, he sees nature 'an unweeded garden,' possessed by 'things rank and gross,' and the flesh 'too too solid' or 'sullied.' He now tells 'celestial' Ophelia that she belongs to a 'nunnery,' and speaks to his mother as though she were a sex-body. This swing between regarding woman as saint and as prostitute expresses the well-documented psychologic situation of desire and guilt over the desire. Hamlet's condemnation of animal passions, his own sexlessness or absence of erotic relationship towards women may be seen as the manifestation of a powerful repression. 9)

Hamlet's relation to Ophelia is an enigma to the critics who ignore his psychological conflict. What is the nature of this "love" that Hamlet does not as much as allude to in any of his monologues or in his talks with Horatio? What kind of love is it that can kill the beloved's father without a twitch of remorse or thought of its effect on her? That, as Dover Wilson remarks, feels less distressed about her

death than about the remains of a jester dead long ago? What has Ophelia done to justify Hamlet's insulting language?

From the psychoanalytic perspective, Hamlet's behavior to Ophelia can be explained as a displacement of the prohibited love for the mother. Love for Ophelia is more acceptable to his consciousness than desire for Gertrude. He transfers his affection from the one to the other, veiling the identification by choosing a woman who "should least remind him of his mother" (Jones). But it is a *displaced* love, and Hamlet devotes himself but little to Ophelia. Actually, he tells her (III, 1), 'I never gave you aught.' What he did give was to the 'idol' of his 'soul,' to an Ophelia 'beautified' in his projection. But because of his unconscious confusion between the two, her person merges with that of Gertrude, and he accuses Ophelia of the very things he finds his mother guilty of. She serves as the victimized object of his resentment against the other. Because Gertrude has proved sensual and deceptive, Ophelia (and all women) are charged with 'frailty.' Hamlet treats Ophelia with the same mixture of insult, bitterness and love which he expresses to Gertrude in the closet-scene.¹⁰⁾ Hamlet's unrequited love for his mother preoccupies him to the extent that he has little left for any other sex-expression. Neither man nor woman delights him. Horatio alone remains "faithful." Indeed, Hamlet shows more love for Horatio, even for Laertes, than for Ophelia.¹¹⁾

The Play Is The Thing: The Strategy of Substitution

In the earlier sources, Amleth's feigned madness is a necessary part of the plot. There, the disguise is motivated by the political situation and by the real danger that Amleth's intentions might be discovered. In Shakespeare, Claudius cannot know that Hamlet has learned of the murder. Here, the external and political situation does not dictate Hamlet's simulation.

Hamlet's need 'to put an antic disposition on' again

stems from his personal conflict. Hamlet knows that he is 'passion's slave.' Although he says that he is 'unpregnant' of the 'cause,' he knows enough to be aware that he may betray the nature of his passion. Hamlet has as great a fear of exposing it to himself as to others. He must "play" the madman partly to cover up his actual desires from himself. In appearing to be aroused over Claudius' incest, he screens his own desire; in seeming to be concerned with revenge for the murder, he conceals his concern over his relation to Gertrude. Hamlet's antic disposition is an acting out of his mid-way state between repression and displacement: between the repressed love for his mother and the displaced love for Ophelia, the repressed hostility towards his father and the displaced hostility towards Claudius, his repressed incest-desire, as well as his horror over it, and their transference to Claudius.

The motif of displacement is the psychic core of "play" in the drama. For Hamlet, in particular, the play *is* the thing.—the method by which he shifts attention away from his deeper burden. It is his *strategy of substitution*: The poet-player substitutes Claudius for his father and for himself, Ophelia for Gertrude. He substitutes preparations to carry out the action for the deed itself. He acts through words as though words could kill. A lightning verbal dialectic and rapid succession of movements are substituted for decisive steps, the play-murder for the murder itself, "bloody" thoughts for virile action, the how for the what. 12) In sum, Hamlet, the philosopher, the playwright, the actor, exhausts himself in continuously devising *means*—philosophic-dramatic-theatrical—, thereby indefinitely postponing the end.

Hamlet's strategy of substitution points to the co-existence of powerful forces within him which arrest each other. The one calls for the murder of Claudius; the other inhibits him from carrying it out. Hamlet makes continuous preparations for both: He not only plans the killing of Claudius; he also frames these plans in a manner which make their

achievement difficult. For, Hamlet's multiple devices are such, as Jones points out, as to *arouse suspicion* against himself: His antic disposition makes Polonius and Claudius wary; the staging of the play increases their suspicion of his designs; he nearly makes a full confession in the closet scene. In short, Hamlet's very devices make the execution of the plan well-nigh impossible.

This strategy exemplifies Hamlet's general ambivalent state. He tells Ophelia that he did and did not love her; his attitude to his mother bespeaks love and contempt. Even the King is not simply a Nimrod-Herod figure to Hamlet. When he sees Claudius at prayer, he cannot regard him as an unqualified villain. For all his crimes, Hamlet reflects, only heaven knows 'how his audit stands.' Claudius' desire to pray makes Hamlet realize that ' 'Tis heavy with him,' and that he may perhaps even be fit for 'the purging of his soul.' 12)

For further substantiation of our argument, we want to analyze the following scenes: The opening soliloquy, the meeting with the Ghost, the play within a play, and Hamlet's visit with his mother. 13)

Claudius-Hamlet: The Trappings of Woe

The extraordinary feature of the first soliloquy is first what it *omits*: It contains not one word of *regret* over the death of the father. Even the clothes of mourning which he wears (Hamlet tells Gertrude) do not 'denote' him truly, are 'but the trappings and the suits of woe.' The soliloquy is exhausted by condemnation of his mother: that she remarried, that she did so shortly after the King's death, that she married his father's brother, finally that she became the wife of a man who is 'a satyr' compared to an 'Hyperion.' These acts, not the death of his father, are Hamlet's own expressed motivation for his melancholy and suicidal thoughts.

In the midst of these complaints, Hamlet inserts two references which at first appear to have no direct bearing

on his theme. The first is something he wishes he would not remember — the sensuous love Gertrude showed for his father:

‘Must I remember? why, she should hang on him,
As if increase of appetite had grown
By what it fed on . . . ’

The other is *Hamlet's identification with Claudius* in their common differentiation from King Hamlet. Earlier, he called his father ‘Hyperion,’ contrasting him with Claudius, ‘a satyr.’ Now, he calls his father ‘Hercules’ and contrasts him with *both Claudius and himself*. His mother, Hamlet complains, married his father’s brother,

‘ . . . but no more like my father
Than I to Hercules . . . ’

But Claudius has proven himself at least partly Herculean—he has taken the place of ‘Hercules’ by the side of Gertrude. Is Hamlet’s dejection induced by his unconscious identification with Claudius, an identification marred by the circumstance that Hamlet is *not* the king? Does his melancholy indicate an incomplete repression of his unfulfilled wish to be in Claudius’ place? Is this the reason that Hamlet feels less sadness over the death of his father than over his mother’s marrying someone “like” himself, but not himself?

The Commander-Father

Critics have generally accepted the simple view that Hamlet loved his father. But what has been left out of consideration is that the natural love which Hamlet had and still has for his father has been pushed into the background by his mother’s re-marriage. The new pattern is a slightly distorted re-enactment of the young boy’s oedipal conflict, stimulates this earlier hostility and partly submerges the love.

In the play, Hamlet’s specific references to his father express the form of love proper to a young child, namely that of *deifying* the parent. Hamlet speaks of his father almost throughout as a Jovian power. The language tone in the Ghost-scene is not that of a loving father but that of a commander to his subject. Hamlet is enjoined to revenge the

murder and warned not to contrive 'aught' against his mother. Later, in the closet-scene, Hamlet likens his father's eye to that of 'Mars, to threaten and command.'

The Ghost's commission quickens Hamlet into life. His heavy melancholy is gone, and when he sees Horatio and Marcellus, speaks to them in a spry and almost lighthearted tone, telling them that the news he has heard is 'wonderful.' In the midst of 'wild and whirling words,' he addresses the Ghost-King playfully as 'boy,' 'true-penny,' and refers to him as 'this fellow.'

What is the reason for Hamlet's changed mood? Why does the news of his father's murder and the mission of revenge lift his depression? Hamlet's strategy of substitution offers a clue. He can now cover up the source of his personal anxiety by assuming a public task, can act or "play" as if he were really intent on revenge, can put on his 'antic disposition.' The danger of exposing himself as 'passion's slave' is no longer as great. In Freudian terminology, the Ghost is the censorious ego which converts Hamlet's 'bad dreams' into respectability by substituting a justifiable motive (a son's duty) for the guilty motive. 14)

The Ghost's appearance is the catalyst for the subsequent action of the drama. The Voice from Purgatory organizes Hamlet by providing him with a mission. On the Platform, he comes face to face with death. This vision does not express his death-wish, as G. W. Knight and Dover Wilson argue; on the contrary, it makes for his *living, active* role. Hamlet does not become "the ambassador of Death, walking amid life" (Knight), but is summoned to revive the living values of honor. The Ghost propels Hamlet from a settled hellish melancholy towards dynamic restless activity.

However, Hamlet's high spirits do not last long, and his mood changes almost at once. It does not revert to his earlier dejection, but takes form in *doubt* as to his ability to carry through his "play." The Ghost has organized Hamlet, but only into a mid-way state in which he plays two roles simultaneously, and where each strives for supremacy. The

compelling reality of his personal want is struggling with the assumed reality of his public task. And Hamlet is deeply troubled. Will he be able to carry out his communal duty while weighed down by his private burden? Is he ready to replace Claudius? Can he take over and be King? He, who feels himself to be no more like his father than is Claudius? Hamlet questions his adequacy and laments the 'cursed spite' which commissions him to 'set it right.' The time is out of joint. But so is Hamlet. The final lines of the first act summarize the dual motif of the play: the disjoinedness and schism in the social and in the individual body.

'Remember Me'

The Ghost leaves Hamlet with the words 'remember me.' The son is to replace the father in carrying out the vengeance. To accomplish this, he will have to transcend his infantile desires, must himself become the mature man. The entrusted mission is Hamlet's test of manhood, and here lies his difficulty.

When the Ghost leaves, Hamlet vows to 'remember' only that which the Ghost has charged him with, and to forget all those thoughts and fantasies, associated with his father and mother, which might hinder the execution of the assignment:

'Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All sows of books, all forms, all pressures past
That youth and observation copied there,
And thy commandment all alone shall live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmix'd with baser matter: yes, by heaven-'

But, for all his conscious resolve, this 'baser matter' does mix with the commandment, and gives him his bad dreams.
15) Not "thought" or "reflection" as such, but memory of 'pressures past' and introspection sap him of the energy needed for resolute decision. Hamlet's reflective nature does sensitize him towards suffering and irresolution; but, in mak-

ing him partly *aware* of his dilemma, it also ripens him towards his final 'readiness.'

The Conscience of the Nephew

In The Murder of Gonzago, Hamlet has found a ready-made play reenacting the murder of a king by his brother who then marries the king's wife. Dover Wilson has called attention to the fact that Hamlet *changes* the play by inserting 12-16 lines of his own. It is not clear which lines are Hamlet's. But the all-important item is that the playlet, as presented, is *not* analogous to the situation as the Ghost described it. Hamlet substitutes *the nephew* for the king's brother. He replaces Claudius by 'one Lucianus, nephew to the king.' Dover Wilson has dwelled on this substitution, and the conclusion he draws is that Hamlet is here deliberately indicating his intention to kill Claudius. But why should Hamlet openly expose his purpose? Moreover, does the text indicate 'that this is his sole purpose?

The 'nephew' clearly points to Hamlet. But who is 'the king?' The reference is ambiguous. 'The king' may mean either Claudius, the king or Hamlet the king. 16) On either reading, Hamlet makes a central admission: Either that he plans to kill Claudius or that he (concealed as the 'nephew') desired the death of his father. In either case, by substituting the nephew for the brother, *Hamlet shifts the accusation away from Claudius and towards himself*. In other words, the play which was to 'catch the conscience of the king,' reveals instead the conscience of Hamlet, 'the nephew' who does the killing and then 'gets the love of the king's wife.' The substitution is presumably Hamlet's. It is his personal-poetic contribution and confession. 17)

The scene gives other hints of Hamlet's aim, made evident by the way in which Hamlet plays off Ophelia against Gertrude. (It is the only scene in which Hamlet confronts both women at once.) When his mother asks him to sit by her, Hamlet replies that Ophelia is 'metal more attractive.' He lies down at Ophelia's feet and indulges in a play on

words with sexual allusions — all within his mother's hearing. ('Shall I lie in your lap . . . I mean my head upon your lap . . . That's a fair thought to lie between maids' legs.' To Ophelia's remark that Hamlet is 'keen,' he replies: 'It would cost you a groaning to take off mine edge.') 18)

Confession in the Closet

Hamlet had bitterly complained that he must hold his tongue even though his heart should break. But once he stands in his mother's room, that which he had long held back pours forth in unrestraint. Here, there is no cosmic arraignment, no transference of person guilt to the world as a whole.

Following the play within a play, Hamlet is told by Rosenkrantz that his mother wishes to speak with him 'in her closet ere you go to bed.' From this point on, we feel that everything else is crowded out of Hamlet's mind by this request which he will follow, 'were she ten times our mother.' 19) When Hamlet is left alone, he speaks the following lines:

'By and by' is easily said.
 'Tis now the very witching time of night,
 When churchyards yawn, and hell itself breaks out
 Contagion to this world: now could I drink hot blood,
 And do such bitter business as the day
 Would quake to look on. Soft! now to my mother.
 O heart, lose not thy nature, let not ever
 The soul of Nero enter this firm bosom;
 Let me be cruel, not unnatural:
 I will speak daggers to her, but use none;' 20)

We note first Hamlet's use of metaphors: 'drink hot blood,' 'speak daggers.' In the closet-scene, we find related metaphors:

'Let me wring your heart, for so I shall,
 If it be made of penetrable stuff,
 If damned custom have not braz'd it so,
 That it be proof and bulwark against sense.' 21)

Hamlet enters, and immediately assumes a commanding tone:

'Come, come, and sit you down; you shall not budge;' Upon the queen's cry and Polonius' call for help, Hamlet makes a pass through the arras, stabbing Polonius. 22) Hamlet gives but the briefest reflection to his bloody deed. He resumes his earlier tone, ordering his mother to sit down and let him 'wring' her heart, hoping that it is made of 'penetrable stuff,' despite 'damned custom.'

Hamlet begins in repeated and fulsome praise of his father's god-like manliness. 23) He bitterly complains that his mother now lives 'in the rank sweat of an enseamed bed,' that she gave herself to a 'king of shreds and patches,' after having been married to a Jove-like man. Following the Ghost's disappearance, Hamlet harps on a single theme: He begs his mother not to go to bed with Claudius:

' . . . go not to my uncle's bed;
. . . Refrain tonight,
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
To the next abstinence; the next more easy . . . '

He asks his mother not to impart to Claudius what he has said to her, even if the king

'Pinch wanton on your cheek, call you his mouse, . . .'

Or paddling in your neck with his damn'd fingers . . . , As Bradley puts it, Hamlet who had deplored the fact that he must hold his tongue, now pours forth in a flood, "as he stood in his mother's chamber beside his father's marriage-bed."

In this scene, Hamlet catches his own conscience even more than he did in the playlet. Here, his antic disposition is discarded, exposing his innermost and most compelling obsession. Even as he outdoes himself in apotheosizing the father, Hamlet does not as much as allude to the mission with which the Ghost has entrusted him. He seems to have completely forgotten this 'memory,' harping only on Claudius' unworthiness of his mother's caresses. This provides the context for the appearance of the Ghost.

Hamlet alone knows (the Queen neither sees nor hears

the Ghost) the reason for his father's appearance. Before the Ghost has spoken, Hamlet anticipates him:

'Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
That laps'd in time and passion, lets go by
The important acting of your dread command?'

The Ghost enters his wife's closet, this time dressed 'in his habit as he liv'd' (the first Quarto has him appear in his bedroom attire) and, in effect tells Hamlet: What are you doing in my wife's bedroom? Your business is outside with Claudius. The Ghost is the censorious voice directed against the forbidden fantasies of the son. 24) The scene is at once Hamlet's frantic attempt to regain the harmony of the infantile stage and a mythic reenactment of the meeting between the Mother-Goddess and the husband-son. 25)

The Madness of Inclusion

Hamlet appears mad only to the artless characters, such as Gertrude and Ophelia, and to the mono-level who trust the immediate empirical evidence of their senses, such as Polonius. He does not seem mad to Claudius, his surrogate father, nor to Horatio, the friend.

Hamlet's madness is more than deviation from the norms set by the commune. Such is the madness of Don Quixote who judges his prosaic era by the standards of a Golden poetic Age, of Captain Ahab whose eye, fixed on one exclusive object, rejects the normal values of his crew. Their madness is one of exclusion. Hamlet's is the madness of inclusion. His meeting with Death gave him a sense of the Whole which he would encompass. He would represent his Catholic father from Purgatory and be the Protestant son from Wittenberg; he would function as the man of action and as the thoughtful philosophic analyst; he would follow the mores of the feudal collective calling for ancestral revenge and heed the new humanism requiring ethical justification and individual responsibility. Hamlet's madness arises from his reluctance to be a *specialist*. His native endowments embrace 'the courtier's, the soldier's, the scholar's eye, tongue, sword.' He can do, and even better, what

any of the others do: he knows more about acting than the players, fences better than Laertes, can plot and counterplot with Claudius and Polonius. Above all, he alone has seen and spoken with Death. For the audience, the Ghost is an accepted convention; for Horatio, he is possibly an illusion or an evil omen for the state; to the literary critic, he is a fateful symbol. For Hamlet, he is a *personally related* power. We have spoken of the Ghost as organizing Hamlet. It organizes him in the sense that it turns his quest towards origin and creation, as a 'platform' for visualizing the end, that is, his destiny of re-creation.

Here lies the gaping contrast between Hamlet and the others. Where they are specialists (king or soldier or courtier, or player etc.), he would be all of these at once. And he would be each of these roles in an unconditioned form. That is, Hamlet *absolutizes the finite*. His universal perspective sees each part as a plenary value, and his "Whole" becomes a pluralism of absolutes. But all action is finite, limited, relative, *specialized*. Hamlet recognizes this as well. He knows that to reach the end, one must use *politics*, that is, means, strategy, partiality, all of which entails relative injustice. In short, he knows the need of *the devil* in the passage to the divine Center. Yet, for all his knowledge, he is unable to manipulate the parts, but can only *play* with them. Hamlet is basically the *artist-philosopher-Shakespeare* who would act symbolically, deal with reality by the trope, metaphor and the verbal thrust. But he is the artist-philosopher who, schooled by the Protestant dialectic, is also critical of the esthetic-contemplative view. In *Don Quixote*, the dual elements coexist in a *parallel* form: the knight and the squire walk side by side, and each sees something apart from the other. In *Moby Dick*, each of the whale's eyes focuses on a separate object. In *Hamlet*, the eyes cross and get mixed up with each other. Hamlet would be both Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, both the father and the son, the actor and the actor. His universal vision paralyzes his arm and his realistic ego prods him toward action.

The result is a complex dialectic taking the form of the *paradox of doubt*. He doubts himself and he doubts others (unable to confide his plans even to Horatio); he doubts both action and inaction. He doubts the "idols of the tribe," demanding adherence to the old, the "idols of the cave," inviting detachment of the self, and the "idols of the marketplace," clamoring for attention to the demands of the hour.

Stage Three: Homecoming and Rehabilitation

In the last act, Hamlet is relatively serene and collected. The Hamlet who had swerved between melancholy and spryness, between lonely soliloquies and dialectic repartee, between concern with himself and cosmic speculation, is now prepared to see the general law in his personal process. It has been noted that the fifth act contains no soliloquies. The center has shifted from the I to the We. Hamlet feels that he is in the hands of some providence, that 'heaven ordain'd' is operative in all that happens. The shift has only now become possible. Not until Hamlet has confronted the sources of his creation, has passed through the stages of his Protestant quest, and gained some recognition of his secret desires, not until his own life is endangered on his sea voyage and he has faced death in the churchyard, not until then is Hamlet prepared to recognize that

'There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.'

Hamlet's philosophic and artistic sensibility has come in contact with "experience," has wrestled with the Protestant Devil and is now ready for Catholic acceptance. Hamlet is at last ripe for social identification. As he leaps into Ophelia's grave, he names himself generically as 'Hamlet, the Dane.'

According to Lao-tse, "breadth of vision brings nobility." Hamlet's broad vision and his modern awareness at once intensifies his tainted probings and leads to his growing consciousness. This discernment purifies his distorted Eros and lifts him toward mature 'readiness.'

But the liberation from the Eros finally prepare Hamlet

not for life, but death. He becomes ready for the Thanatos principle. And although Hamlet sees it all as 'providence,' he feels that in his case it is a 'special' providence. The pre-Renaissance mythic hero regards and accepts his fate as a function of the nature of things. This is not quite the case with Hamlet. His 'readiness' is tinged with wistful sadness. 'Thou wouldst not think,' he tells his friend, 'how ill all's here about my heart.' For the free Renaissance individual the 'divinity that shapes our ends' has lost some of its necessity. Even now, Hamlet cannot carry out the will of providence which has laid a task upon him. His state, as Bradley says, is nearer to resignation. Hamlet finally kills the king 26) But it is more a weary gesture than an act of revenge, and executed in a futile, "by the way" mood. 27)

Epilogue: Fortinbras-Horatio

The characters of Fortinbras and Horatio are the Ariadne-elements within Hamlet which link his entrance and exit from the labyrinth into which he is summoned by the Ghost.

Fortinbras appears only briefly. But the Fortinbras theme is sounded at the very beginning (his threat is the reason for the midnight watch and for the anxiety of the court), and it is Fortinbras who speaks the final line of the play. On one plane, he is the other pole of Hamlet. Lacking 'the pale east of thought' and 'conscience' which makes 'cowards,' he can act and act resolutely. Ethical considerations do not sway him, and he has 'shark'd up a list of lawless resolutes' to recover 'by strong hand' the lands his father has lost. On his journey to England, Hamlet learns that Fortinbras is on his way to Poland, ready to sacrifice twenty thousand men for a little patch of land. Yet, here is Hamlet

'That have a father kill'd, a mother stain'd,
Excitements of my reason and my blood,
And let all sleep . . . '

Fortinbras has also had a father killed. But he does not think 'too precisely on the event,' and instead of seeking revenge, adopts a practical approach, demanding return of the land taken from his father. Moreover, he readily follows

the decision of his uncle, his substitute father-king, not to go to war against Denmark.

But the extremes touch. In Friedrich Gundolf's formulation, the *pure* acting of Fortinbras meets with Hamlet's *pure* deliberations. Neither is motivated by reward. Fortinbras too is intent on the game, not the gain, when he sets off to win 'an egg-shell,' finds 'quarrel in a straw when honour's at the stake.' Hamlet senses their affinity when he calls Fortinbras 'a delicate and tender prince' whose spirit is puffed 'with divine ambition.'

'Exposing what is mortal and unsure

To all that fortune, death, and danger dare.'

Hamlet prophesies 'the election lights on Fortinbras.' As Hamlet dies, Fortinbras enters and orders: 'Go, bid the soldiers shoot.' These shots are in honor of Hamlet. Once again, Fortinbras acts in the interests of a cause as such. If Hamlet is an artist of play, Fortinbras (foreshadowing Coriolanus) is an artist of action.

Hamlet was born on the day when his father slew King Fortinbras. Ophelia's death marks the burial of Hamlet's ambiguous love and initiates his rebirth to 'readiness.' The rebirth ritual comes to a close with his death and Fortinbras' succession, reenacting the mythic process in which Prometheus is carried forward by Heracles, Oedipus by Theseus.

Horatio is Hamlet's other replacement. If Fortinbras is the "strong arm," Horatio is the sensitive artist-observer. Like Ahab's Ishmael he has viewed the drama, and it is to him that Hamlet finally turns and asks

'If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,

Absent thee from felicity awhile,

And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,

To tell my story.'

Hamlet's last words are concern for his friend and for the state. 'The rest is silence.'

But these replacements do not carry Shakespeare's full conviction. He preserves Fortinbras' merit by the strategy of not involving him directly in the plot. He remains honorable by being kept off the stage. And we accept Horatio

simply because Hamlet has faith in him. Horatio himself is not distinguished by what he does or says. Reconciliation in this English Renaissance myth is half-hearted, split and crossed. Hamlet gives his 'dying voice' to a man he never meets, and must ask his friend to 'report' his cause which he himself did not get to know 'aright.' In *Poetic Art*, Paul Claudel writes that "to find the end means to find the origin." To find these origins, one needs favorable conditions, the outer resources made available by history, and the soundness of the seeker's own inner resources. But Hamlet's Denmark was out of joint and his own ego was disturbed by bad dreams. His ancestral authority appeared to him 'questionable,' the existing state flat and unprofitable. The emerging values of a practical humanism can receive only his 'dying' voice. Its "strong-arm" tactics cannot be adopted by the living Hamlet.

The Art of the Dialectic Paradox

In *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*, Sister Miriam Joseph notes that Shakespeare is "especially fond of negative terms which are the contradictories of the corresponding positive terms." She cites a study by Albert Hart which shows that words beginning with the prefix *un-* amount to nearly 4% of Shakespeare's vocabulary and that a fourth of these belong to his own coinage; that he uses synecdoche, a composition of contraries (such as 'I must be cruel, only to be kind.')

The art of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* receives its peculiar rhythm from the use of the dialectic as paradox which shapes the dramatic structure, situation, language and dialogue of the play. Under the dialectic paradox are subsumed the play's motifs of transition, mysteriousness, ambiguity and secretiveness. In the first act: the midnight hour, the change of guards, the "moving" platform and Ghost, the funeral-marriage sequence and the war-situation. In the second and third acts: Hamlet's 'madness' and the 'method' in it, his actor-actor, play-action rhythm, summarized in the

broken dialectic of 'to be or not to be,' his 'I did love you once—' 'I lov'd you not' to Ophelia, the illusion-reality of the play within a play. In the fourth and fifth acts: Hamlet's escape from and return to death, the Hamlet-Fortinbras contrast-identity, the play-death nature of the fencing scene.

Yet, amidst it all, we feel that Hamlet is essentially alone. He makes a heroic effort to get to know himself and his secret through comradely association. At the end of the Ghost-scene, he begs his friends: 'let us go in together . . . come let's go together.' The Platonic persuasion was that self-knowledge could be gained by *the dialogue*, a social act. But for all his dialectic exchanges, Hamlet has no one to talk to, and must try to understand himself in debates between the crossing elements within himself. Hamlet speaks and acts much like Nietzsche's lonely Cosmic Dancer. His is the language of interiorization, making a supreme attempt towards externalization. This gives us a language which turns and leaps, rises and ebbs, swerves between prose and poetry, gives us shapes and objects which appear broken or refracted, set in a changing atmosphere between shadows and light.

We have treated *Hamlet* as the richest expression of the English Renaissance myth. The work itself occupies the high center of Shakespeare's own creative process. The beginnings of Hamlet's problem appear in the figure of Brutus ('poor Brutus, with himself at war') and its "dissolution" in the magic of *The Tempest*. Ferdinand is Hamlet whose father's ghost has become an unquestionable spirit who returns as King, a Hamlet who marries his Ophelia, undisturbed by personal discords. However, this "happy ending" does not take place in real life, but in a life which is 'such stuff as dreams are made on.' *The Tempest* is nearer the fairy tale which assures victory over the intractable elements in the human drama. Where in *Hamlet*, Claudius and Polonius are real, potent factors which no amount of dialectical skill can dispose of, Gonzalo and Antonius are treated lightly,

playfully, and as irrelevant to essential values. *The Tempest* reverses the order of reality. Here, practical, political strategy is illusion and magic is reality. Here, 'the play is the thing' and the whole thing. Man becomes once more an object of play for the elements of fire, water, air and earth. Shakespeare has moved from the human-political tempest of Brutus-Hamlet-Macbeth-Othello to the nature-tempest of the elements themselves. He "returns" to the primitive myth, but with a difference. For the questioning consciousness which he has passed through is also present. It is not as troubled and tortured as before, but appears in a mood of resignation. Prospero has gladly abdicated to the wordly forces which seem to him trivial compared to the power of his poetic magic. The tragic myth of *Hamlet* is "resolved" in the magico-religious fairy tale of *The Tempest*.

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FOOTNOTES:

1. Cf. Roy Walker: *The Time Is Out Of Joint. A Study of Hamlet*. (Andrew Bakers Limited. London 1948). Walker sees the play as the tragedy of a noble man, limited by a "body politic . . . poisoned at the ear, accepting fair appearances for fair reality." He holds that Hamlet is separated from his group by an impassable gulf and has "no real communication with the creatures of this world."
2. The version of the saga in the Dane, *Saxo Grammaticus* was the source for the French rendition of *Belleforest*. There were Hamlet Ballad-Cycles in Iceland and the allusion to Hamlet as a nature myth in the *Edda*, possibly going back to the lost *Skjöldunga saga*. The English source of Thomas Kyd may have been built on a Senecan model.—*Belleforest* sees Hamlet-analogies to Absalom's conspiracy against David, his father, to the Turkish story of Zelim who slew his father Bajazeth, to Brutus, playing the fool. Hamlet-motifs have been traced in the Persian Book of Kings whose sources are veiled in a distant past.

It has been noted that although the story is originally a Scandinavian saga, the name of the hero, Amlothi, has no discoverable Germanic etymology. One scholar has suggested that the first part of the name, Aml, means "labor without much progress," and that the whole compound may be rendered as "annoyingly mad."—Cf. Sir Israel Gollancz: *The Sources of Hamlet*, London 1926; Th.M. Parratt and H. Craig: *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, Princeton 1936; Kemp Malone: *The Literary History of Hamlet*, Heidelberg 1923.

3. An old study (A. Zinzow, 1877) examines *Hamlet* as a nature-myth, and modern scholarship (Gollancz) holds that the story may have borrowed from the Northern myth of the struggle between spring and winter.
4. The scheme is analogous to Goethe's *Faust* whose Prologue brings the Lord, the Angels and Mephistopheles on a common platform and whose final scene tells of Faust's Assumption.
5. It has been suggested (by Gollancz, Kemp Malone and others) that Gertrude is connected with the vegetation goddess Nerthus and with Groa, the Mother-Earth giant in the Orwendel myth of the Edda.
6. The Ghost is the "summoner" or "herald." (In the third act, Hamlet refers to his father as 'the herald Mercury.') The initiation is the hero's first dangerous undertaking. Hamlet follows the Ghost to a secret, lone platform, though the spirit 'tempt' him 'toward the flood,' the 'dreadful summit of a cliff,' or draw him 'into madness.'
7. Some critics ascribe Hamlet's delay to similar realistic factors. Since the murder was not an open act, it is argued, Hamlet must make certain that Claudius is the murderer; furthermore, he must prove publicly that it was Claudius, lest he himself be judged a murderer; finally, that Hamlet simply lacked the opportunity to kill Claudius until the end.

Bradley has effectively disposed of this theory. He points out 1. Hamlet himself never refers to external difficulties, 2. Hamlet assumes that he can obey the Ghost, 3. Hamlet need have no fear of reprisal, as shown by the ease with which Laertes rouses the people against Claudius.

In Belleforest, Hamlet's difficulties are mainly external. Moreover, his Hamlet wants more than revenge; he seeks the crown, and to gain it, he must conquer not only Claudius, but his supporters as well. In Shakespeare, Hamlet has no such problem. He can be king. He has Claudius' public promise, and he is loved by the 'distracted multitude.'

Bradley also refutes the view that Hamlet is held back by ethical considerations. He indicates that Hamlet is not restrained by moral scruples. He is hardly affected by his stabbing of

Polonius; he readily sends Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern to their deaths (although he is not certain of their own guilt), telling Horatio that they are not near my conscience.'

On the question of Hamlet's making sure that the king is the murderer: Hamlet does not have absolute certainty, but he clearly has the strongest suspicion from the beginning. What he hears from the Ghost is his own 'prophetic voice.' The King's reaction to the Gonzago play gives him even 'more relative grounds,' providing a public manifestation of guilt before the court as a whole. All doubts of the king's intention toward himself at least are removed when Hamlet reads the letters of instruction given to Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern in which the King orders Hamlet's execution.

A word on the argument that Hamlet needs to convince the court of Claudius' guilt. Hamlet, it is said, is a Renaissance man who loves life, and will not endanger it lightly. To ascribe Hamlet's central dilemma to fear of reprisal is to trivialize his character. He shows no fear in following the Ghost, in striking through the curtain to stab Polonius. Hamlet is not afraid to die. He tells Horatio:

'Why, what should be the fear?

I do not set my life at a pin's fee . . .'

Finally, as to the opportunities, they are few; but they are no less than Hamlet seeks.

8. Bradley holds that the key to Hamlet's behavior—his inactivity, hesitancy, procrastination—lies in his "profound melancholy." Bradley uses the word "melancholy" in the Elizabethan sense of nervous instability and moral sensibility. Bradley does not pretend to inquire into the factors which make for Hamlet's melancholy, saying that Shakespeare simply meant to portray "a pathological condition." Yet, in his actual analysis, Bradley is near the edges of psychoanalytic formulation. He writes of Hamlet's "unconscious self-excuses . . . unconscious weaving of pretexts for inactivity" which Hamlet is unable to understand. He suggests hesitatingly that the kind of melancholy from which Hamlet suffers can be symptomatically expressed in paralysis or even perversion of love. He notes that the Hamlet who must hold his tongue suddenly becomes most eloquent in his mother's chamber "beside his father's marriage-bed."—When it comes to Hamlet's relation to Ophelia, however,—a stumbling block for all non-psychologic approaches—Bradley confesses that he does not understand it. Yet, he adds the suggestive footnote that "there are signs that Hamlet was haunted by the horrible idea that he had been deceived in Ophelia as he had been in his mother."

J. Dover Wilson closely follows Bradley. He speaks of Hamlet's emotional instability, notes his personal inadequacy, and in the matter of Ophelia, states that Hamlet loved her before his mother took off the rose "from the fair forehead of an innocent love." But Wilson rejects the validity of the psychoanalytic method and has argued against Jones' interpretation of Hamlet.—Maud Bodkin (**Archetypal Patterns in Poetry**) seems to accept Jones' view, but her own study is more along the lines of Jung's archetypes.

9. In the primitive plot, as reconstructed by Kemp Malone, Amleth rapes his sister or foster-sister. The rape is there a central episode and reveals Amleth's animal sexuality. In Shakespeare, Hamlet has lost most, but not all, barbarous elements. Something of the craft and cruelty (especially in his relation to Ophelia) remain.
10. Jones adds that the identification may also be seen in Hamlet's killing the men (Polonius and Claudius) who stand between him and his mother.
11. Upon her death, Hamlet leaps into the grave, announcing 'I lov'd Ophelia,' more than forty thousand 'brothers.' But the love of 'brothers,' even of forty thousand, is not what is called for by one who is not her brother.
12. Wilson Knight (**The Olive and the Sword**) notes that 'bloody' means "virile," rather than murderous, as so often in Shakespeare. Roy Walker adds that Hamlet's murder of Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern is the **abuse** of virility.
Hamlet's announced intention was to use the Murder of Gonzago to catch the conscience of the king. But he becomes more interested in the effectiveness and skill of the performance as art and drama than in its effect on Claudius. When the King has risen, Hamlet asks Horatio whether his skill could not get him 'a fellowship in a cry of players.'
13. Freudian commentators have confined themselves to the first soliloquy and to the closet scene for substantiation.
14. If the Ghost is not an objective manifestation, but is evoked by Hamlet's 'mind's eye,' why does he not appear following the murder, but only after the marriage? Does his mother's marriage crystallize a crisis in Hamlet's guilty desires which calls forth the censoring by the father-figure?

The Ghost issues a strange and apparently uncalled for warning to Hamlet. In the midst of his calling on Hamlet to revenge him, the Ghost breaks in suddenly:

'But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,
Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught; leave her to heaven.'

Why this admonition? Is it a warning against Hamlet's latent and forbidden wish?—When the Ghost leaves, Hamlet dwells on his commandment, but similarly interrupts his theme with the exclamation: 'O most pernicious woman!' 'Why "pernicious," when the Ghost had only called her 'my most seeming-virtuous queen'? We should further call attention to a shift in Hamlet's complaint. Prior to the Ghost's appearance, Hamlet harps solely on his mother's guilt. Following the Ghost-scene, he never touches on it again, apart from referring to Claudius as having 'whor'd' his mother (V, 2). The one great and startling exception is the closet-scene. Again, it is here, that the Ghost makes his other appearance reminding Hamlet of his "real" official duty, and asking him 'to step between her and her fighting soul.'

15. Bradley notes that Hamlet is so afraid that he will forget his father's command that he writes it down in black and white "to force him to remember and to believe."
16. Another ambiguity is introduced by the reference to the duke Gonzago whose actual murder in Vienna is supposedly 'imaged' in Hamlet's playlet.
17. The player who acts the part of the King speaks the line: 'Purpose is but the slave to memory.' It applies to Hamlet's 'purpose' as well.
18. When Ophelia asks him what the dumb-show means, Hamlet answers with these apparently nonsense-words: 'Marry, this is miching mallecho; it means mischief.' We are struck by his use of words beginning with the letter "m." Hamlet calls the play 'the Mouse-trap,' and in the closet-scene, he tells his mother that the king calls her his 'mouse.' In the playlet, Hecuba, wife of King Priam who is slain by young Pyrrhus, is called the 'mobled' queen.
19. Before he goes, Hamlet engages in more dialectic fencing with Guildenstern and Polonius. Polonius enters and reminds him that the queen would speak to him. Hamlet's strange reply is to ask Polonius whether he sees a cloud 'that's almost in shape of a camel.' When Polonius agrees, Hamlet goes on to say that he thinks it is 'like a weasel,' and finally 'like a whale.' Upon Polonius' 'Very like a whale,' Hamlet breaks off with the words: 'Then I will come to my mother by and by.'—In the myth, the whale, or its belly, represents the World Womb or the Earthly Paradise.
20. Dover Wilson thinks that the 'bitter business' refers to Claudius. Yet, commenting on Hamlet's very next sentence ('Soft! now to my mother'), he writes that Hamlet "has forgotten the King altogether."
21. Hamlet's first words are spoken outside her room. He calls 'Mother,

- mother, mother!' as though he were warning her or perhaps himself that it is his 'mother' he is about to see, although as he later tells her, he 'would it were not so.'
22. Hamlet asks: 'is it the king,' and later says that he took Polonius for his 'better.' But we cannot agree that Hamlet believes or hopes that he has killed the king. He had just left Claudius in a prayerful mood—hardly a prelude to eavesdropping. Moreover, Hamlet hears Polonius cry out. He knows his voice very well, has heard it perhaps more often than any other. He could hardly confuse it with the king's voice.
23. The allusion to the father as 'the herald Mercury new-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill,' whose combination and form 'give the world assurance of a man,' offers additional Freudian material.—In the play, Hamlet twice refers to his father as 'Hyperion.' Hyperion is the sun-god whose sacred flocks were violated by Ulysses' companions. Hamlet also calls his father 'Hercules.' In the first act, it serves to contrast him with both Claudius and Hamlet. In the last act, the reference follows his confession to Gertrude that he 'lov'd her ever,' adding 'but it is no matter; let Hercules himself do what he may.'
24. Hamlet had left his substitute-father at prayer, on the way to 'heaven,' where he cannot obstruct Hamlet's 'business' with his mother. But "the father" does appear, and precisely as Hamlet is going all out depreciating Claudius in favor of the dead father. Does Hamlet's reference to 'A king of shreds and patches—' (at which point the Ghost enters) express an ambiguity as to which 'king' he has in mind? Roy Walker makes the revealing point that in his second appearance the Ghost does not emphasize the revenge, but calls on Hamlet to be gentle and merciful with his mother. Is Hamlet's 'mind's eye' now more open to seeing that the revenge-motive could no longer be accepted as a respectable explanation for his bad dreams?
25. In the first Quarto, the Queen condemns Claudius and agrees to assist Hamlet in 'what strategem soe're thou shalt devise.' The following observation in J. C. Flügel's *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family* (London 1931) seems relevant: "There exists a very general association on the one hand between the notion of mind, spirit or soul and the idea of the father or masculinity; and on the other hand between the notion of the body or of matter (*materia*—that which belongs to the mother) and the idea of the mother or of the feminine principle. The repression of the emotions (in our Judeo-Christian monotheism) has, in virtue of this association, produced a tendency to adopt an attitude of distrust,

contempt, disgust or hostility towards the human body, the Earth, and the whole material Universe, with a corresponding tendency to exalt and overemphasize the spiritual elements, whether in man or in the general scheme of things." Quoted in **The Hero With A Thousand Faces** by Joseph Campbell, N. Y. 1949.

Some psychologists (Fromm, Wertham among others) dispute Freud's oedipal analysis on the ground that his androcentric theory is unhistorical, that it does not hold for nonpatrilineal societies. They cite anthropologists, such as Bachofen, who point to stages in which the woman, the uncle or some other figure has either equal or more power than the father. This, however, does not appear to invalidate Freud's more basic thesis: the effect of authority, whatever form it may take.—In any case, whatever may have been true of pre-patriarchal stages, Freud's approach retains its soundness for our modern societies where the father is the center and possessor. This is certainly the case in the Renaissance-myth (in Goethe's *Faust*, for example, the mother is not even mentioned and the father is cast in a doubtful role). Shakespeare's characteristic women are passive recipients or nourishing substances ('food' in *Othello*). In *King Lear* and *Coriolanus*, the father is in the abdicating stage and the women (the Gonerils and Volumnias) begin to take over. Shakespeare foreshadows here the process of father emasculation, later treated in Balzac's *Father Goriot* and Strindberg's *Father*. But in *Hamlet*, Gertrude and Ophelia readily bow to the patriarchal pattern.

Dr. Frederic Wertham has advanced the theory that Hamlet wants to kill his mother, not his father. ("The Matricidal Impulse. Critique of Freud's Interpretation of Hamlet," *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, vol. II, No. 4, April 1941.) He quotes lines, particularly from the closet-scene, as showing Hamlet's Nero-hostility towards his mother, and writes that the Ghost appears as "a friend." We have tried to show that the Ghost is more of a commander than a friend, and that Hamlet gives continuous evidence of attachment to his mother. Wertham admits that "the basis of Hamlet's hostility against his mother is his over-attachment to her." This grants the basic Freudian dialectic: the son's hopeless because prohibited love is displaced towards an assumed hostility. And Hamlet's 'dagger'-language is a revealing Freudian metaphor in the complex of Hamlet's emotions. Wertham finally confines his point to arguing that "this overattachment to the mother need not necessarily lead to hatred against the father." The difficulty here is the notion of causality. The main point is the interlocking of the two factors in Hamlet. Wertham cites the text to show that Hamlet expresses no direct hatred against the father and no direct love for his mother.

Therefore, he concludes, Freud's analogy between Oedipus and Hamlet does not hold. But Freud himself points out that Hamlet, coming in a relatively sophisticated era, represses the wish phantasy, and we discover it "only through the inhibitory effects which proceed from it."

26. Even here, he needs to be reminded of his duty by Laertes who calls out to him: 'the king, the king's to blame.'
27. In Laurence Olivier's film, Hamlet kills Claudius in the manner of a Western hero who finally gets his long-sought enemy. It mars Olivier's otherwise consistent "Freudian" production.

A Possible Technique for Recognizing Psychological Characteristics of the Ancient Maya from an Analysis of their Art*

By

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INTRODUCTION

This paper has a two-fold objective. First of all, it suggests a possible method for handling the art products of a society as psychological data in order to make statements about the personality structure characteristic of individuals in that society. Secondly, it presents, as a test case, certain statements about the personality of the pre-contact Maya, derived from an analysis of the three codices. These statements are then compared with remarks by Bishop Landa, and also with recent Rorschach findings, in order to check on the validity of the "art-analysis" diagnosis.

HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH

I became interested in this problem directly as the result of taking a course in 1948 under Dr. Linton Satterthwaite of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, in "Indian Backgrounds of Latin American History." Under

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the guidance of Dr. A. I. Hallowell of the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, I had already been introduced to the general field of personality and culture, and more specifically to the Rorschach technique. During the summer of 1948 I had spent three weeks studying Rorschach and other projective techniques with Dr. Bruno Klopfer under the auspices of the Rorschach Institute, Inc. When under Dr. Satterthwaite's tutelage I became aware of the extent and nature of some of the art products of aboriginal Middle America, it occurred to me that it might be possible to derive some insight into the personality of these people by applying to their art the same diagnostic criteria which a number of clinical psychologists in America and Europe are applying systematically to the art products of both normal and disturbed people in our own society.

The initial statement of Maya personality which I drew up was submitted as a term paper to Dr. Satterthwaite in January 1949. This statement was essentially a "blind" diagnosis: i. e., when I made it, I had practically no knowledge of those Maya source materials which were psychologically revealing. I had deliberately avoided reading Landa and the other colonial commentators; I had not read the recent studies of the folk cultures of Yucatan, by Redfield and others; and I had not read the articles by Billig, Gillin, and Davidson on Maya Rorschachs which were published in the *Journal of Personality* in 1947 and 1948. I have retained my original statement, "blind" as it is, in this paper, verbatim, since if the proposed method is to be of any use, it must be possible to apply it independently of any guiding information from other sources. Otherwise, it would be only too easy to read into the art whatever preconceptions the student had acquired elsewhere.

Dr. Satterthwaite read the original paper and made several useful comments which will be taken up later. After he had seen the paper, I read Landa, Redfield, Stephens, and the Maya Rorschach paper, which was called to my attention by Dr. Hallowell in March 1949.

Thus, the present paper consists of the presentation of the "blind" diagnosis, together with a discussion of its methodology and rationale, and a comparison of this diagnosis with descriptions of Maya personality from other, subsequently studied, sources.

RATIONALE

The basic assumption underlying this approach is that all kinds of human behavior are determined, among other factors, by the personality of the agent. All behavior is expressive of—is a "projection"^{*} of—the agent's personality; the technical problem is to isolate behavioral categories which can be directly correlated with psychological categories. Once it has empirically been established that all, or almost all, persons who behave in a given way in a given situation are characterized by a given personality trait, the procedure becomes deductive. By recognizing that an individual belongs in a certain behavioral class, one also recognizes that he belongs in a certain psychological class.

This is essentially the logic of the "projective techniques" which are now given such a prominent role in clinical psychology. These techniques, which include the Rorschach ink blot test, the Thematic Apperception Test, the Szondi Test, and various tests based on an analysis of drawings or paintings, began as a series of more or less intuitive propositions about the correlation between certain personality traits and behavioral traits. Many of these propositions have subsequently proved to be clinically valid; their further validation by statistically organized observations has occupied much time and space on the part of psychologists. Clinical expe-

^{*}"Projection," as the word is used here and by workers with projective techniques, does not have altogether the same meaning as the same word used by psychoanalysts. Projection in the psychological test sense is automatic, inevitable, and involves the total personality; in the analytical sense, as one of the mechanisms of defense, it refers only to selected areas of the personality. I am not using the word in the analyst's sense.

rience inclines many of those who have worked with projective techniques to feel that diagnosis from projective data is at least as promising a basis for designing therapy as any other psychodiagnostic technique which has as yet been devised.

The nature of the behavior which is regarded as "projective" in any test varies, of course, with the technique. Usually, the categories chosen for observation are "trivial" in a conventional sense: color preferences, quickness of response to a stimulus, preference for seeing animals or human beings during fantasy, and so on. One of the reasons for selecting areas of behavior which are "unimportant" is that, by so doing, the investigator avoids those which are consciously standardized according to cultural prescriptions. It is not that the investigator is bored by cultural patterns, but because people who display the same culturally standardized behavior may have very different personalities.

There are several considerations which prevent our jumping eagerly to apply to ancient Maya art the same criteria which have proved to be useful in analyzing the art products of twentieth-century Western Europeans and Americans. Are our systems of interpretation cross-culturally valid? Is it legitimate to infer the personality characteristics of a whole society from the productions of a few individuals? And to what extent are the chosen criteria affected, in Maya, by their culturally standardized function?

The question of the cross-cultural validity of systems of interpretation found useful in Western society was an early preoccupation of anthropologically-inclined Rorschach and TAT workers. Dubois and Oberholzer's Alorese experiment, and the experience of Rorschach students working with American Indian materials, have indicated that, for Rorschach at least, cross-cultural interpretations, even by persons unacquainted with the culture, are valid. The Alorese data also included analyses of dreams and drawings. These, too, yielded meaningful results when evaluated by standard "Western" criteria. It would seem, therefore, worth while

going ahead on the operating assumption that "Western" criteria will prove to be valid with Maya materials too. The hypotheses derived from the projective techniques can later be checked against independent evidence, such as descriptions of the Maya by early European observers like Landa. And agreement among two or more projective techniques of interpretation would tend to increase confidence in both.

The legitimacy of inferring the psychological character of a whole society from the artistic behavior of a few male representatives would be very dubious if the art in question were spontaneous, private, and secular. In the case of the Maya, however, art was not spontaneous, private, and secular; it was largely a function of the ceremonial and magical activities of the priesthood. The major Maya arts—painting and drawing, sculpture, and architecture—were public activities even if they were planned and executed by individuals. As such, they were highly stylized rather than idiosyncratic; and the styles were consistent enough, outside of minor variations, to be regarded as diagnostic traits of Maya culture. Thus, in any style there are fundamental similarities among the three surviving codices, there are fundamental similarities in the sculpture of the various cities, and in the architecture. If we confine our observations to these common elements, we will avoid confusing idiosyncrasies of particular Maya artists with the tendencies of Maya art in general.

In a statistical sense, furthermore, we are justified in assuming that *very probably* the particular artists we are dealing with were subjected to the primary institutions typical of the society, and that hence their basic personalities were, again *very probably*, representative of the society as a whole. This unprovable assumption is even more likely to be true in Maya than in Western society, because Maya art was not considered to be so much the expression of a free and unique soul struggling for self-expression as the mechanical arrangement of conventional forms in functional

(calendro-magical) relationships. Artists, in Maya society, would have to be conventional people.

But why were the "conventional forms" which are evident in Maya art just these particular conventional forms and no other? We can partly answer this by saying that a conventional art-style must contain elements which are aesthetically (i.e., psychologically) congenial to the large majority of the people supporting art production over continuing generations. The nature of what is aesthetically congenial is determined by the basic personality structure of the people. An art form is congenial if it reproduces the same sort of art which the viewer himself would try to produce if a brush (or a chisel or whatever the instrument might be) were put into his hands. In other words, no matter what the utility of the object may be, people like to look at art forms in which they can recognize the projection of their own personalities, in which there is implicit the same world of meanings to which they are accustomed.

If all this is true, then an analysis of Maya art according to the criteria used in projective techniques should reveal personality characteristics, certainly of the artists themselves, almost certainly of the class involved in ceremonial and calendro-magical affairs, and probably enough of the whole society.

Another type of pertinent objection to this sort of analysis, which I have heard several times from Dr. Satterthwaite and others, is that the Maya codices were essentially utilitarian documents — astrological handbooks containing elaborate astronomical and arithmetical calculations—and hence can not properly be regarded as equivalents of such documents as Rorschach protocols, TAT stories, and random drawings. Certainly the student cannot totally ignore the social function of the codices. But I think it is a mistake to assert that the codices were intended *either* as astrological manuals *or* as expressive art. Obviously they are both. Those aspects of the codices which are determined by their astrological function—e.g., the particular sequences of numbers, the

particular day signs, the particular deities represented—are probably irrelevant to the particular sort of analysis I wish to make. On the other hand, those descriptive categories which I have chosen—e.g., the general avoidance of sharp in favor of rounded corners, the arbitrary use of color in a non-naturalistic way, the preference for profile over full-face representation of human beings—do not appear to be determined by the necessities of preparing an astrologer's handbook or of making arithmetical calculations.

I confess to abysmal ignorance of Maya calendrical arithmetic, cosmogony, and ritual lore. I have nothing whatever to add about the use to which these books were put; I am confining my observations to those aspects of Maya drawing, in the codices, which appear to be determined by factors other than the purposes for which the books were consciously made.

SPECIFIC METHODOLOGY

In order to make inferences about Maya character, it is necessary first to describe the sample of their art in psychologically relevant terms. There is, unfortunately, no standard list of descriptive categories to be used automatically in the projective analysis of art products. Each worker in this field has a more or less individual system of description and interpretation because each worker uses slightly different kinds of data. Schmidl-Waehner handles spontaneously produced drawings and paintings; Machover asks the subject to "draw a person"; and so on. In the face of this welter of methodologies, it seems advisable to take an eclectic approach: to select any descriptive categories (with their interpretive meanings) that are applicable to the sample chosen for analysis.

The choice of the sample thus may be made more or less arbitrarily before the descriptive categories are selected. There is initially available a wide variety of materials: the three codices, sculpture, architecture, wall-paintings, ceramics, mosaics, textiles, lapidary work, metalwork, featherwork. For

practical reasons I have chosen the three codices as most suitable for primary study. They are generally available to scholars; they are a sort of drawing-and-painting which is similar to already-studied art forms; and they were probably made not many generations before the historic period and hence inferences drawn from them can be checked against approximately contemporary documentary accounts.

It would be tedious to list all the possible descriptive categories, with their meanings, to be gleaned from the literature. For those unfamiliar with the general nature of the technique, however, the few following examples may be useful. In the interpretation of Rorschach responses, it has been found that persons who use the color in the inkblots freely to form concepts, in general tend to be persons who enjoy emotional relationships with other people: they are "extratensive." The precise way in which the color is used indicates how the person normally behaves in these emotional relationships: crudely and impulsively, or smoothly, or either, depending on the occasion. In the Bender Gestalt test it is considered that the drawing of pointed shapes is an indication of aggression; blunted, rounded figures suggest an absence or inhibition of aggression. Schmidl-Waehner found that a preference for small form-elements was shown by persons who were constricted, inhibited, and anxious. According to Machover, a preference for drawing human heads in profile is correlated with general evasiveness in character, a "spectator's view of life." The apparently arbitrary meanings of these categories are difficult to rationalize because the mechanisms involved are largely unconscious; but their validity seems to be pretty well established by clinical experience.

My initial procedure in making the blind diagnosis was, having a general familiarity with the categories employed by Rorschach, Machover, Elkisch, and Schmidl-Waehner, to peruse the codices (using both colored and photographic reproductions) and to jot down certain features which seemed common to all or almost all and which had been used by one

or more of the authors as interpretive criteria. I then matched these descriptive categories with the interpretive categories. This gave a disjointed list of personality traits. These personality traits were then studied and reorganized into a somewhat more structuralized personality portrait, the aim being to see the traits in a dynamic relationship to one another rather than as a loose handful of labels. The sketch of Maya personality which follows is this "structuralized personality portrait."*

About six months later, I returned to the paper, and, having in the meantime read some of the early sources and also Redfield, Gillin, and others of more recent date, I abstracted two more personality sketches of the Maya: one from Landa's data, and extremely fragmentary; and another from Gillin *et al's* Rorschach report.

MAYA PERSONALITY: A "BLIND" DIAGNOSIS*

The typical Maya male of the period of the three codices appears to have been a somewhat introverted person who sought the clarification of his problems in ideation rather than in social interaction (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 18, 20); he had, however, little real insight into the sources of his anxieties (2, 23); he was blandly egocentric (1, 3, 6). This does not mean, however, that he was a solitary boor; on the contrary, he was distinctly sociable, but in a superficial way—he was a type who would like being "alone in a crowd." He made a sincere effort to appear outgoing and friendly (8, 11), and he was able to support a mechanical and ritualized social facade (6, 10, 11, 12), but he felt little need for relating himself to others emotionally (5, 20). Consequently, his social relations were polite and formal.

The Maya was an ambitious, creative individual with

*In the appendix will be found the descriptive categories used, together with the matched interpretive categories and the source.

*The superscript numbers refer to items in the appendix which give source for statement.

considerable initiative (1, 13, 14, 15, 16). In view of his introversiveness and the slightness of super-ego (conscience) development (19), these ambitions were essentially egocentric rather than attached to the fortunes of church or state, city or tribe.

At heart the Maya conceived other people as hostile to himself (17, 18). This anticipation of the hostility of others was probably the outgrowth of unsatisfactory relationships with the mother (20, 21). The almost fetishistic emphasis on the breasts as the criterion of female sexuality suggests a fixation of libido at an oral level (22). This undoubtedly had profound implications for economic, social, and religious institutions.

In response to this stereotype of the social world as inherently frustrating, the Maya nourished his own aggressive impulses. He felt hostile towards people (23, 24). This aggression, however, he normally suppressed rather rigidly, presenting to the world a preoccupied, restrained, almost constricted social facade (9, 10, 17, 25, 26). If and when the social facade broke down, however, there were no defenses in depth against the underlying aggressive tendencies; behavior, then, was likely to become disorganized and irrationally destructive (2, 11, 19, 23, 24). One thing which no doubt helped to bleed off some of this aggression was the lack of inhibitions about the exercise of phallic aggression in sexual relations (27).

The egocentricity of historic Maya character (if, as is likely, it was old and well established) may have had something to do with the brittleness of Maya society. The unexplained breakup of the Old Empire, and the instability of the New Empire, may have been grounded in the incapacity of the Maya themselves to really "get together" in any but a formal, conventional way.

VALIDATION: THE RORSCHACHS OF MODERN MAYA INDIANS

The following description of the personality structure

of the modern Maya Indian male based on a series of thirty-six Rorschachs taken by William Davidson, a graduate student at Duke University, who worked with Gillin in San Luis Jilotepeque, a township with a total population of some 7,500 persons (of whom about 5,000 are "Indians") in eastern Guatemala. The sample is small, but it is the only one available. The records were interpreted by Otto Billig of the Duke School of Medicine. Davidson actually took 67 Rorschachs, but thirty-one of these were of "Ladinos," who seem to have a culture much less "Indian" than that of the considerably acculturated "Indians" themselves. It is worth mentioning that these "Indians" apparently do not consider themselves to be the descendants, racial or cultural, of the imperial Maya, and that they are considered by the ethnologists as being "heavily acculturated" and much less Maya than many other Guatemala Indians.

Billig's extended statement of Maya personality is too technical and too long to quote in full; therefore, I will present an abbreviated digest, arranged in an order to facilitate comparison with the art-analysis diagnosis:

The typical Maya male in San Luis Jilotepeque is basically neither introverted nor extroverted, but his social behavior probably would be considered introverted by United States white standards; he is "shy." He has no real insight into the forces within his own personality and hence is apt to be blandly egocentric, dominated by his own drives, which he is incapable of evaluating. "Instead of living with each other, the members of this community will live next to each other."

The San Luis Jilotepeque male is definitely not ambitious and creative. In his social relationships, he is not very responsive to stimulation. He tends toward a dependence upon careful control of his behavior in a formal sense rather than upon a mature balancing of values; he appears to be dominated by stereotypes of social patterns rather than able to depend on his own ability to meet and organize his social relationships anew with each social contact. He solves

his problems in terms of "all inclusive generalities and rationalizations." Often this implies a constricted kind of personality which is like a machine, impervious to emotional contact either with himself or others. There is no turbulent release of tension in uncontrolled aggression.

There are a number of points on which, owing to the differences in the data for analysis, comparison is impossible. Essentially, there are only two points of disagreement. I interpreted the Maya male on the codices as ambitious and creative; Billig saw him as almost the opposite. I saw possibilities of disorganized aggression when the stereotypes were useless and the rather secure controls broke down; Billig regards that as unlikely. In other respects, the two approaches come to very similar conclusions.

The significance of the disagreements is problematical. Either or both of our interpretations may be in error; and, of course, we are dealing with two populations, separated by at least five hundred years in time and by only partly defined differences in culture. These differences certainly include, however, the considerable difference between the great ceremonial civilization of the imperial Maya, and the simpler ceremonies of the local Catholic parish. It probably also includes the difference between a markedly class-stratified society in the old days and a relatively undifferentiated social system now (within the "Indian" segment of Guatemalan culture, that is).

I am inclined to feel that the politically dominant magico-religious class in Old Empire times probably was a good deal more creative and ambitious than the bulk of the peasant population, either then or now. This suggests that in this respect at least, the codices give data primarily on the ruling class and its associates. It does not seem likely that the impressive Maya ceremonial centers could have been conceived and planned by persons who were unambitious and uncreative to the degree apparent in the Rorschachs. But if the bulk of the population were, both then and now, relatively unambitious and uncreative, in comparison to the

dominant class, then the remarkable brittleness of Maya political and ceremonial culture might be owing in part at least to the fact that any disturbance of equilibrium of the ruling families could not be readily repaired by families rising from the ranks. When the leading family lives were smashed in their function as community leaders, the frosting on the cake of custom was shattered. This inability of Maya society to renew its more complex manifestations readily after shock thus may be owing to both the atomistic social attitudes of the general population and the uncreativity of the peasant portions of it.

The disagreement over the potentialities for aggression I really do not know how to evaluate. It may be that the difference is only a semantic one, since Billig and myself may have slightly different aggression-perception thresholds. I feel, however, that Landa's data suggest that orgies of aggression were characteristic of the Maya on certain occasions, as for example at public sacrifices, or in drunken brawls, and that this tends to corroborate my statement; but this formalized kind of aggression may not be what Billig is referring to.

VALIDATION: LANDA'S DESCRIPTION OF POST-CONQUEST MAYA

It is always easy to impeach the testimony of missionaries on the grounds of cultural bias. My own experience with missionary accounts from the Eastern Woodlands culture area in North America, however, has been that while caution is necessary, missionaries are often more impartial than political or military observers. I am deliberately giving Landa the benefit of the doubt in the following abstract.

Landa saw the Maya as a superficially equable, polite people who delighted in presenting an agreeable and plastic social facade. Oaths and imprecations were carefully avoided. He remarked, however, the significant fact that when they were drunk—which was a frequent occurrence—

they were violently aggressive; and that young warriors were notably arrogant.

Interpersonal relations were not characterized by great stability of affect. Relations between men and women were notably unstable; sexual infidelity and divorce were common.

Cultural patterns indicated a preoccupation with oral and phallic rather than anal rituals. Ceremonial cannibalism, for instance, was practiced; and the sexual organs of victims were mutilated before they were killed. In one case, a woman's breasts were mutilated. All ceremonies involved fasting and abstinence. Preferred zones for self-mutilation were ears, tongue, and penis.

Illness, death, and misfortune were considered to be owing to sin; and, therefore, confession was resorted to in crises as a therapeutic measure. This suggests that guilt feelings were important determinants of behavior and implies the existence of superego comparable, in kind if not in content, to the conscience stressed by psychoanalysts in our own society.

While Landa's data are extremely fragmentary, they suggest a basically similar pattern to the ones we have already found: the stress on the stereotyped social facade, the shallowness of emotional relationships to other people, the preoccupation with oral and phallic rituals. Unexpected here is the importance of confession and the sense of guilt (if it was a sense of guilt and not simple expediency which motivated confession).

CONCLUSION

As far as my sketch of Maya characteristics is concerned, I do not wish to give the impression that I think I have solved the problem. These statements are not intended to instruct experts in the Maya area in their own specialty. I am not competent to state their specific relevance to problems of present research, nor to say how reasonable or unreasonable is the personality picture which I have drawn. The fact that the Maya themselves were chosen for the test case

is an historical accident; and I want to be the first one to observe that my knowledge of the Middle American field is extremely limited.

In regard to the second objective of this paper, the presentation and validation of a method of using art products as material for psychological generalization, I have sketched the history, rationale and specific methodology, which I used in making a "blind" diagnosis of late second empire Maya personality. I then presented this diagnosis and compared it with evidence from contemporary Rorschach protocols and from post-conquest observations by Bishop Landa. Although there were several discrepancies (which might theoretically be expected, since the data came from at least three separate periods and communities), there was observed a fundamental agreement in outline (which could also be theoretically expected, since group personality characteristics being based on intimate patterns of family life are highly resistant to change). Owing to the variability of the techniques employed, many statements could not be checked at all. Nevertheless, I feel that the method does appear to be valid; and this implies that the deductive criteria used in the art analysis have, in this case at least, cross-cultural applicability.

Nevertheless, one case of this kind can not prove a point. All that can really be said is that the method deserves to be further investigated and refined. If, upon future research, it does prove to be useful, it should be of considerable value in providing archaeologists and historians with insights into personalities of long-dead populations.

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APPENDIX

The following table lists the categories which I used to describe the art of the codices; the interpretive categories suggested by several psychologists; and the sources. With a more refined system of analysis, the list could be extended. Naturally, it is not intended to compose a "description" of Maya art in the ordinary sense. Furthermore, it will be noted that the interpretive column is merely a list of isolated traits of character. The organization of this list into a personality portrait depends upon a feeling for the fit of the elements in a general theory of personality dynamics.

DESCRIPTIVE	INTERPRETIVE	SOURCE
1. Tendency to avoid sharp corners and to emphasize rounded corners.	Introulsive, creative, restrained, preoccupied with self.	Schmidt-Waechner, 1946.
2. Lack of perspective.	(a) Little insight. (b) Little introspective activity.	Machover, 1949.
3. Tendency to enlarge human heads.	High value on intellectual achievement; egocentric. Mild introversion.	Klopfer and Kelley, 1946. Machover, 1949.
4. Tendency to keep human arms close to body.	Little need for relating self to objects.	Machover, 1949.
5. Lack of background.	Egocentric but with good social facade.	Machover, 1949.
6. Relative nudity of human figures together with extreme ornamentation.	Introulsive, obsessive, compulsive.	Elkisch, 1945.
7. Generally "compressed" design.		

8. Ready use of color (at least 15 colors throughout the spectrum are used throughout the codices). Ability to enter into social contacts. Klopfer and Kelley, 1949.
9. Tendency to outline form-elements carefully in black. (a) Repression of aggression. (b) Anxiety over aggression problems (use of black), depression. Machover, 1949. Naumburg, 1947.
10. Avoidance of blending colors. Careful control of emotional responsiveness. Alschuler and Hattwick, 1943.
11. Avoidance of naturalistic use of colors. Forced, artificial sociability; tendency to "explode" emotionally. Kelley, 1946.
12. Emphasis on ornate headgear. Elaborate social facade. Machover, 1949.
13. Filling page to margins. Ambition, initiative, good adjustment (often found with children). Schmidl-Waechner, 1946.
14. Long human hands, feet, and noses. Ambition; phallic aggressiveness. Machover, 1949.
15. Avoidance of rigid geometrical design. Some elasticity and spontaneity. Elkisch, 1945.
16. Complexity of design. Creative. Elkisch, 1945.
17. Frequency of black human figures. Aggression and depression problems. Naumburg, 1947.
18. Profusion of tiny form figures. Fear of environment. Klopfer and Kelley, 1946.

19. Tendency to give human figures short necks and thick waists. Slight super-ego development. Machover, 1949.
20. Tendency to present human heads, and often torsos, in profile. Evasive; shy of getting emotionally involved; "spectator" view of life; problem with mother. Machover, 1949.
21. Tendency to give female figures relatively short arms. Feeling of being rejected by mother. Machover, 1949.
22. Tendency to portray female breasts as excessively prominent and pendulant. Tendency to regress to an oral-dependent attitude. Machover, 1949.
23. Rareness of human figures in free movement. Lack of creative imagination (mature fantasy); immature self-control. Klopfen and Kelley, 1946.
24. Tendency toward frequent combinations of red and black. Aggressive impulses working through in fantasy. Naumburg, 1947.
25. Preference for relatively small form elements. Constriction, inhibition, anxiety, maladjustment; but professionally competent. Repression of aggression. Schmidl-Waechner, 1946.
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Justice And The Arbitrator

Some Clinical Observations Concerning the Concept of Justice

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Material from a patient yielded some insight into the historical development (on a psychological level) of some of the aspects of the concept of justice. A thirty-one-year-old male came to analysis because of impotence. He wished to have a family but, although he had been married for two years, he had not yet achieved penetration. It was revealed that while he expressed concern over his lack of ability in sexual relations, he was not interested in sexual pleasure. His concern was that since he had not produced children according to the conventional expectation, he would be condemned. He was an intelligent, sensitive, artistic person who had been reared by a frigid mother who could not show affection (except toward her mother, to whom she was pathologically attached in a highly ambivalent manner). The mother and the grandmother became for our patient somewhat divergent symbols of types of femininity, both dangerous. The father, on the other hand, was capable of some warmth but was a selfstyled disciplinarian who (while trying to attain obedience) lost stature by a demonstration of helplessness and weakness in the face of failure. In addition, his occupation and his mannerisms gave the patient the impression that his father was rough, uncouth, dirty, and masculine in an ugly and ineffectual sense. The patient was a sickly child over-protected and spoiled during his early years while discipline was exacted in confusing dosages. His parents were never of one mind about anything. They certainly did not see eye to eye concerning the patient so that he never really knew how far he could go nor what he could do. The things in which he became interested were alternately praised

and condemned. His parents were constant adversaries over discipline, children, money, and love. The little child was thrown into the position of taking his choice between them, and this not only because they were adversaries, but also because they invited him to make such choices by open discussions with him concerning their differences. His conscious attitude was in favor of his mother, who he felt was being misused and maltreated. But it was apparent that he also felt a certain resentment against his mother because she so frequently turned away from the father. Hostile impulses against his father were at their height when he entered the latency period of his life, at which time a new conscious attitude became manifest. Now it became his goal to make peace between his father and mother. When his mother was angry with his father, he showed her that he was sympathetic with his father. In his efforts to neutralize he also deprecated what his father did. He was not so well able to appease his father when father became angry with his mother, but he had a distinct urge to make peace. The father criticised the mother for extravagance. This produced anxiety in our patient, who responded by attempts to be chummy and friendly with the father; meanwhile he would recall to the father's attention that the price of food had gone up. The analysis of this type of episode revealed that the patient was acting the part of the good, understanding father who could forgive mother (thus unconsciously eliminating father), while at the same time he incorporated the guilt of the mother, since he really agreed with father that mother was extravagant. He said that he "turned the dark side down," taking it within himself, while he "turned the bright side up" for father's view. The result was an incorporation of the guilts of both parents with attempts to bury them deep within the psychic structure, out of sight, while the surface, presenting ego, attempted to reflect the goodness and understanding of potentially good parents.

The patient was the youngest of three children who were born at approximately seven-year intervals. The brother,

the oldest, who was always an undisciplined person, left the home before the patient was three years old to lead a nomadic existence. Prior to his departure the brother was involved in a series of sexual adventures which both glamorized and condemned him in the eyes of the patient. His sister became the object of altruistic acts and fantasies. His early life seemed very limited and restricted while his brother was having adventures and his sister was enjoying the pleasures of a beautiful room, pretty clothes, and parties. He was fascinated by her activities, taking pleasure from her pleasures but also voluntarily sharing the punishments she sustained.

The memories available to him early in the analysis were few and were marked by the fact that they were desexualized.

He had rickets in infancy and up until he was around six years old he had severe asthma which demanded constant nursing. The restrictions imposed by his illness did not permit him many playmates nor many activities so that he considered himself a sissy and different from other children. He portrayed his mother as long-suffering and abused by his father. She was interested in "peace at any price." Father on the other hand was domineering, cruel, self-assured and decisive.

As the analysis proceeded we learned of his sleepwalking and his nightmares in childhood and gradually a great group of memories concerning his play activities in eaves and basements, with stage sets and peepshows, were recaptured. These were replete with inhibited sexuality. The memories of his father continued to portray a cruel, castrating man but elaborated his father's clownish activities during parties and other occasions which changed father into a castrated, female-like individual. To illustrate briefly, father was recalled as having played charades with great glee, donning a hat that belonged to his wife, while vulgarly displaying her corset. The patient's fantasy elaborated it into a picture of the father parading in female clothes.

A view of his unconscious attitudes towards his parents may be obtained from the following. After eighteen months

of analysis, he recounted that while he was reading a story which told of an insane woman who was locked up in a house, he became very excited and frightened. He felt that he had had such an experience before. The experience proved to be a fantasy (which he had had in early childhood) that father and mother had quarreled and that the father had locked the mother in the attic; and now, entrapped, she became enraged and wildly insane. The associations which followed concerning his responsibility, the memories of father calling mother mad, raving, etc., his nightmares of hairy ghosts pursuing him, his preoccupation with psychotic people, the memory of an insane women who attempted infanticide, left no doubt about his notions of the cruel and punitive pre-oedipal mother. In the hour which followed the analysis of this uncanny experience he related the story of a fight between his two bosses held behind locked doors so that only muffled sounds of angry voices could be heard by him. This awakened memories of similar situations in his childhood which in his fantasy were interpreted as deathly struggles in which father reached for a butcherknife to use against mother. But since his father left home for brief periods after these quarrels, he was convinced that father was destroyed, leaving mother powerful but wild. He was left to enter the conflict with mother which would continue until some equality was reached. In the meantime he felt that since "I am the cause, I ought to try to settle this in some way." The desire to settle the conflict was his desire to remain uninvolved. In the same hour he added, "There is something about the struggle which means that they are unequal and it is unjust." He recognized that the inequality was a matter of sex and that when the fight ended in defeat for one he would then have to enter it in order to "get some equalization again."

It is of particular interest to investigate further the urge to make peace in the family and its derivatives. For instance, one day he was involved in an incident in which two men, one old and one young, were driving cars in different

directions; they met in the middle of a bridge which had room for only one car to pass. Each claimed priority and neither would budge from his position. The patient's impulse was to arbitrate; his fantasy was that he would be the implement of justice. His impulse was to bring the disputants to a logical and reasonable settlement. At first he felt that the younger should yield to the older. Indeed, he got out of his car and made a feeble and useless attempt to be the arbitrator. When this failed, his next impulse was to enlist all who were being held up by the stubborn pair and push the antagonists off the bridge into the river.

This need to be an arbitrator pervaded his entire existence. For example, in his office he could not identify himself either with the other employees or with the bosses. He constantly strove for that position which would make him a go-between for the bosses and the workers. He achieved a semi-managerial position in which he could befriend neither the employers and call them by their first names as others did, nor the other workers, though both groups held him in good esteem and admiration as a conscientious worker and a nice enough fellow. He could not permit any closeness with either group to ripen into friendship. Similarly, while in the armed services during the war, he refused a commission which he could easily have obtained in view of his professional capacities and became, instead, that type of non-commissioned officer who was the friend of the enlisted man and the officer. Both groups appealed to him constantly for help with their problems with each other, and even with personal problems; yet he could not accept several overt offers of friendship from individual members in the groups. He was the eternal arbitrator. In his dealings with his wife he was forever fair and just, sharing equally with her all their possessions, all their responsibilities and decisions. Their bank account was a joint one from which, without any great effort of calculation, they both drew approximately equal amounts. They even shared the same profession.

Certain unusual masturbatory practices began when

he was about ten. His home contained a "secret" attic room, access to which was obtained by a ladder. He would climb the ladder, attire himself in his father's discarded work clothes, then place a rope (mother's hair switch) around his waist and groin in such a way as to permit his penis and testicals to be squeezed by the rope. By means of the rope he suspended himself from the ladder with his head down. In this position he would achieve orgasm. Later there were some variations on this. He would place himself on a hill in an open field, preferably a wet or muddy one; with his head lower than his feet he could conjure the above in fantasy and perform the masturbatory act. As an adult the variation would be that he suspended himself from his bed and again in fantasy conjured up the clothes and the rope. As an adolescent he realized that he was sexually attracted by tight work clothes of any kind. It may be of interest to note here that his mother used the aphorism "Every fox smells its own hole" and that she wore a fur neckpiece which bit its tail. These and other bits of information were to relate to the position he used in masturbation.

The analysis of this patient concerned itself for a long period of time with his defenses against aggressive positions as well as against passive positions, with the impossibility of taking up either a masculine or feminine identification. His compromise was one in which he was neither, but something in between which can best be represented by a calm, quiet, pleasant, casual man who was never out of control, somewhat more masculine than feminine - a hidden masculinity. He constantly strove for the rational, non-emotional position of non-involvement. These were his ideals; this was the right way to live. He was to be neither like father nor like mother. He tried to conduct himself in this way in the analysis, so much so that he attempted to arbitrate between that isolated part of himself which had hostile impulses against the therapist and the therapist himself. He expected the analysis to consolidate this ideal so that it could really be achieved.

In one dream he saw himself dressed as a woman with a woman's form but he was sure that he was a boy. This represented the dual role of his masturbatory practices. Eventually he made the interpretation that work clothes characterized the superlative in masculinity, but by virtue of the fact that they were dirty they also symbolized the female vagina, which was contaminated. (Probably the tightness of the clothes had a similar meaning, namely masculine and feminine components.) In a dream which followed this interpretation he played the part of a blonde woman lying on the floor in submission to an angry native who was performing a sexual dance, which included an alternating expansion of the chest and hips like a rubber balloon. His associations clearly showed that the woman on the floor was both male and female at the same time. He was aware of playing this dual role as well as the role of the native dancer.

As a child his nightmares were haunted by the ghost of his grandmother, who was the phallic woman. She was also the arbitrator between his father and his mother, favoring the latter. She was the protector of the mother and child from the cruelties of the father.

The life plan of this patient resembles a "maker of justice." He must be the harbinger of peace, lest the fights between father and mother bring about the disaster which will unite him with one while the other is sacrificed. Therefore, the dilemma. Masculinity will plunge him into classical oedipal guilt; femininity into homosexual ravaging by the sadistic father. A compromise role of neutrality is left, a compromise role in which the more benign aspects of both masculine and feminine attributes, which on the surface will meet with the approval of society in every respect, could be achieved. In this new role he can appear to bring father and mother together through his peaceful efforts, perhaps in atonement for his guilts. But such compromises are deceptive; they always manage to bring about just that which is being defended against.

Balance and equilibrium played an important role in the psychology of this patient. The masturbatory position on the ladder with the head lowered signified a loss of control, a loss of balance, as well as portraying the positions of the partners in the sexual act. The establishment of equilibrium, balance, and equality were necessary to insure freedom from sexuality. The patient used "balancing techniques" in his daily behavior to avoid anxiety. It is not surprising, however, that at times the technique failed as a defense and brought with it a pleasurable excitement attended with anxiety. An example of these phenomena occurred in his work. During creative activity he would experience an increasing tension and excitement as he integrated the various components of his productions. These productions necessitated an integration of numerous factors. Each element would have to keep pace with the other elements of the work. His pace would accelerate in a sort of arithmetical progression but would remain safe only as he could keep each factor proportionately balanced and equal in progress. In other words, every element had to be at approximately the same level of development. He could not complete any single factor without having all the others at about the same level of completion. Though the balance permitted safety for a time, it was inevitable that some excitement would appear. If things were not balanced he would experience distinct displeasure, anxiety, and dissatisfaction with himself even to the point of depression. He would reach a crescendo of pleasurable excitement and anxiety as completion of a work was imminent, since the completion promised the fulfillment of creating the perfect and beautiful mother with whom union could be achieved in an overwhelming struggle which would lead once more to equality and equilibrium.

Another case is rather briefly outlined below since a similar compromise attitude eventuated in a negation of the compromise, a defense against it, with the development of the clinical picture of a neurosis in the face of a

precipitating reality. A thirty-five-year old woman came to therapy because of a severe depression which had remained unchanged for years and would not permit alteration under the guidance of several psychiatrists. Psychotherapeutic efforts were useless as argumentation, cajolery, and sympathetic gestures from all quarters fell on her deafened ears. No light would shine through to her blindfolded eyes. Her suffering would not be alleviated. In the meanwhile she bemoaned her fate and the terrible injustice of the world and the eternal inequalities. The depression was directly related to the fact that her husband had separated from her.

It was only late in the treatment that we were able to see more clearly how she had functioned prior to the onset of the depression. Since the beginning of adolescence she had become a person who was intelligent, fair, and just. Her interests were directed toward the goal of helping people, of solving their problems while she had no problems, no needs, no feelings. Her views were consistently eclectic while the choice of husband, profession, friends, social activities derived from the need to help others. After the onset of her depression she could no longer hear about other people's problems without becoming enraged.

Her present day fantasies and those recalled from childhood portrayed cleavages of the body which were found to signify the achievement of equality of the sexes. Her constant theme was how to obtain equality and justice. Analysis revealed that oedipal guilt attached to the divorce of the parents. In the childhood of the patient, father and mother were constantly quarreling. The father's violent aleholic activities, which bore the stamp of paranoia, would invariably lead to reconciliation in the bedroom of the parents, where the child fantasized the mother as once more smiling in the father's arms. Both were content, quiet, happy sated in the sexual orgy which followed the violent quarrels; the two became fused, while the little girl remained outside, alone, friendless, helpless, frustrated, and in rage. It

became clear that all her somatic symptoms (of which she had many) were expressions of the quarrels between mother and father. In fact, it was necessary, so to speak, for her to keep her neurosis as alive as possible in order to perpetuate these quarrels. The somatic manifestations maintained the feeling that the father and mother had not separated, had not divorced, and at the same moment, had not retired to their bedroom to make up.

Separation from her husband had precipitated feelings of guilt; her worse fears had come to pass and necessitated a regression to an oral (sucking) phase of her existence, which was represented by her depression. In retrospect, it is not an exaggeration to say that her associations read like the Egyptian Book of the dead, since she was constantly defending herself by pleading innocent of every crime in the history of man kind. She was constantly seeking justice and equality with a great deal of energy; her suffering and crying were testimonial to her poor fate which needed reparation. For all the world to see, she was dressed in female garb of nondescript character, whilst in revengeful ire she stalked the earth, in one hand carrying her ill-begotten penis, and in the other a balance with which she judged and condemned every man who had a penis until she was able successfully to castrate him; at which point pity and compassion overwhelmed her.

Eventually she realized the double identity which she used in her interpersonal relationships, as well as her search for equality. One day, speaking with great tension, she said, "It is like being a half-man, half-woman person." She had described on numerous occasions that her mother prevented her from having contact with her father. On this particular day she was again describing this circumstance with the additional insight that destruction (oral) of her mother (incorporation and identification) would be necessary before she could reach her father. But the identification with her mother, if successful, would neces-

sitate later an oral destruction of father, as mother herself had accomplished.

The preoccupation of these and other patients with justice, fairness, equality and balance led to an examination of the symbol of Justice. Certain analogies seem to exist between the patients described and the figure of Justice. The questions as to the validity of such analogies to support the clinical deductions, and of its use to deduce cultural theories will be left to more competent hands.

Justice is a blindfolded female figure, who carries a sword in the right hand, a balance in the left. The British Law is symbolized by this type of figure. A similar one existed in ancient Egypt, a daughter of Ra, known as Ma'at, the goddess of truth, law, and justice. The symbol of her duties was a feather which she carried and which was used in the scales at the time of death to be weighed against the heart of the dead man as he made his declarations of goodness and purity on earth. If the conscience were heavy, that is, if the deceased lied about his activities on earth, the heart would then outweigh the feather of truth. The spirit was then destroyed. If the heart and the feather balanced on the scales, then the spirit was admitted to the Kingdom of Osiris.

The more modern figure is a statuesque, not especially feminine figure, but rather buxom and matronly. She wears a long, flowing robe which covers her form completely. Her priest-like robe adds to the majestic, self-sufficient atmosphere. It is as if this Goddess could stand by herself, without the need for any form of companionship; she needs no additions.

Her blindfold must serve a purpose. Overtly, this accomplishes the removal of prejudice and sympathy from the weighing of the evidence. That is, the evidence will be weighed and judged on its own merits without interference by previous knowledge or any form of prejudice. B. Hargrave, in his book "Origins and Meanings of Popular Phrases and Names," explains the phrase "Justice is Blind"

in the following manner. "An expression derived from the allegorical representation of Justice, who, holding the scales, is blindfolded so that she may not see the bribes. It was the custom of the ancient Egyptians to conduct their trial in a darkened chamber, in order that the prisoner, the pleader, and the witnesses being alike unseen, the judges should be impartial in their judgment and not be moved to misplaced sympathy."

But why is this sensory organ treated in this manner? Are the eyes the only organs which, when used, threaten to create sympathy or prejudice? Psychoanalytic findings help us to understand more than appears on the surface. The eye is a penis symbol. It is as though Justice were temporarily blinded to eliminate all feelings from her rulings. She is not permanently blinded nor castrated. (Both patients reported herein had powerful defences against scrophophilic impulses.) Some pictures depict Justice as headless, only to deny the symbolic castration by the addition of a small pair of wings springing from the neck, so that she becomes a winged phallus. She carries an additional symbol of power and potency, the sword, to be used in the service of righteousness, goodness, and truth. Though the sword is given to Justice for the purpose of enforcing her decisions, to give her power, we might conceive that since the sword is also a well-known penis symbol, any castration which might be implied is undone by giving her a sword. In a sense she is a disguised male. The penis as a tool of righteousness seems impossible. The symbolic equivalent, the eyes, are blindfolded but replaced by a sword. The eyes must be covered so that they will not aid in arousing the sensations of passion. Though justice from father is not expected, since he will take possession and be greedy and unjust, his favorite daughter, who identifies with him but who has no instrument of destruction, might be trusted to carry on impartially. It is a peculiar fact that within the framework of the figure of Justice, there is a tremendous admixture of maleness and female-

ness, sometimes balancing each other out, almost like an undoing mechanism of a compulsion neurosis.

A digression from the main theme of the paper is necessary to complete our thoughts concerning the symbol of Justice. The modern versions of the scales of Justice do not show what is weighed in the scales against what counterweight. The two pans of the scale are evenly balanced. The fact that there is nothing shown in the scales, that there is no indication of what is to be weighed, provides a problem. The ancient Egyptian ceremonial of judging in the hereafter weighed the heart against the feather of truth. Now, balance and equality are well-known themes in certain neuroses. They have their origins in the jealousies of the oedipal conflict and sibling rivalries. The insistence on balance frequently serves in the function of the doubts and ambivalences of the compulsion neurosis and has a prominent place in the ritualistic safeguards against hostile impulses. Attention is also called to the fact that the ancient Egyptian had to make, after his death, fifty-two statements of things he had refrained from doing. It was an avowal of morality, sworn under penalty of total and irrevocable destruction. We may say that the ancient Egyptian was making a declaration of freedom from sexuality (especially infantile sexuality), of a super-morality which would make of him a saint. Or, an alternative, perhaps when a soul can be transformed into an hermaphrodite (asexual sexuality), he can be admitted to be guiltless. In a sense he has attained that balance, that equilibrium, which his anatomical structure failed to achieve for him in the life on earth. I wonder whether it is not the freedom from sexual guilt which is measured on the balance of Justice; the freedom from guilt which is aspired to only by that individual who has given up his infantile sexuality or the individual who has the capacity to have an asexual sexuality? Can we substantiate the view that freedom from sexual guilt is measured on the scales by an examination of the symbolism of the heart and the feather weighed in

the scales? The male patient who was the arbitrator dreamed that three women were chopped up, as if prepared like a pot of meat, for eating. He was suspected of perpetrating the crime and so he fled. A woman reached into the mass of unrecognizable flesh and extracted a single organ which was the heart. He said that the heart was the "tell-tale piece." Psychoanalysts are familiar with the idea that the criminal's conscience leaves the necessary evidence for his conviction. The patient's dream and the association said that a heart would be the evidence which would show that a murder had been committed, that the criminal would return to the scene of the crime. His sister was the lady who pulled the heart from the pot. He suspected her of the crime while he also suspected himself and felt that others suspected him too. The associations to the heart leave no doubt that it represented the sexual organs of three most important women in his childhood, his sister, his grandmother, and his mother.

The feather is worn by Ma'at "The feather of justice, erect on the head dress, was her emblem..." (John Henry Wigmore, "A Panorama of the Worlds Legal Systems," picture opposite page 13.) The feather is the symbol of truth and justice. It would be interesting to be able to trace the reason that a feather was chosen for this purpose. It does appear, from the evidence at hand, that the feather may be some type of universal symbol. For example, Yankee Doodle went to town with a feather in his cap. He was obviously going to town to do some romantic things. The Sioux Indian attains a new feather each time he performs an heroic deed. (Professor E. H. Erikson, personal communication.) In western countries the manufacturers of men's hats supply a small feather in the hatband. The expression "a feather in my cap" means an honor, trophy, or mark of distinction. It appears that the feather marks the individual who has accomplished something, who has attained maturity, but with the specific connotation that the maturity includes honesty, with some adventurous and

heroic overtones. My impression is that the feather which is so light and so pure is a measure of maturity. The psychoanalyst measures maturity by the extent of successful sublimation of infantile sexuality.

It seems likely that justice, a figure that represents both sexes, weighs sexual guilt, sexual maturity. But not everyone attains that maturity. It appears that an alternative may exist in a fusion of maleness and femaleness in such a way as to cancel out the worst qualities of each, to permit the guiltlessness which will lead to the Kingdom of Osiris. I do not know whether there is any evidence to show why some of the Egyptian gods were depicted as having the features of two different animals. But what is suggestive is that some of the combinations incorporate features of both male and female qualities. For example, one of Ma'at's assistants is Anubis who watches the pointer on the scale of justice. This strange animal is a lynx-eyed baboon. It fits our theme very well since this figure shows an obvious fusion of maleness and femaleness. In modern colloquialism, it is "neither fish nor fowl."

DISCUSSION

The two patients described are engrossed in the attainment of justice. The first is always the just arbiter, the second, in her illness, the merciless revenger. Though the difference is striking, they are both attempting to reach some compromise which will create equality. There is a psychological fusion of the sexes in each of them which attempts to create a freedom from guilt and anxiety and establish the indestructibility of the parents and of the ego itself. Martin Grotjahn (*The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, July 1948, "Transvestite Fantasy Expressed in a Drawing") gives information concerning a man who practiced transvestitism and who "...talked also about the 'unit,' clearly indicating that he was trying to combine in himself two entirely different identities, one male and one female." I believe that the cisvestitism of the

arbitrator attempted to accomplish the same androgynous unity.

The ego is confronted with multiple tasks. (Compare Robert Walder, "The Principle of Multiple Function: Observations on Over-determination," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. Vol. V, 1936). It discards certain instinctual positions, accepts others, permits compromises to satisfy the organism as a whole within its culture. At times, the ego is confronted with many potential identifications highly charged with conflict. It must create within itself some resolution or compromise. On occasion the compromise in the formation of identifications results in ego-acceptable attitudes which become part of the framework of the character and a part of the mechanism which defends the ego against tension. The simultaneous identification with both parents, in an effort to make peace and bring about equilibrium and equality, is an ego-defense mechanism.

In the first case presented, a dilemma existed, the solution to which was the adoption of the role of arbitrator. In the second case, a certain adjustment was achieved prior to the onset of the morbid condition. Before her depression she had been functioning under a compromise which was the fulfillment of a childhood fantasy of being a just and beautiful queen who quietly ruled her husband (king). (She was the power behind the throne.) Her marriage had failed because she attempted to fulfill this compromise attitude, in which she did not accept either the role of a woman or that of a man.

The patients under discussion developed compromises in which there was an internalization of the guilts of both parents who were bad, quarreling, rejecting, and sexual. Externally, they displayed to the world prototypes of the fantasized good parents in the manner of reaction formation. Apparently the motivation for incorporation of both parents is a multiple one. For the male, a positive oedipus implies a strong attachment to the mother and a desire to castrate and kill his father. For the arbitrator, the attempted castration

of the father is disappointing and threatening. He finds that his mother has already accomplished the task. He must turn to her again but now he can no longer see her as a feminine figure. She possesses everything. For the female, a positive oedipus implies a strong attachment to the father and a desire to replace her mother by internalizing the mother. For the merciless revenger, the complication becomes that she is confused by the discovery that mother before her has castrated father and possesses his penis. When she internalizes her mother in her effort to reach a relationship with father, she incorporates the father's penis. Now, she believes, she is ready for father, but she is doomed to disappointments and frights since she finds that father does not have his penis, it was really stolen by mother; now she possesses it. The repetitive discoveries which are made that father is castrated and mother owns a phallus probably is the invitation for these confused and harried people to seek for readjustments. But each effort is met with further disappointment, discouragement, and confusion.

The development of the demand for equality and justice in these patients must be partially explainable on the basis of the primal scene as it appears in fantasy or in reality to the children, who easily identify it with whatever struggles existed between the parents in fact. Through compromise identifications with both parents arise those trends which attempt to eliminate the biological differences between the sexes and the struggles thereby implied. However, it must be added that it is not likely that all persons who are involved with justice desire to eliminate the difference between the sexes. It must be clear that the demand for equality and justice is not simply a manifestation of the strivings for a phallus but it has its beginnings in the oral strivings of the preoedipal period.

The patients described in this paper have given up their instinctual life and live in a relative vacuum. The disguise, though not the compensation, for the sacrifice is varied and may be querulance or a pseudo-artistic sensitivity.

Since they have given up their instinctual life and have internalized the guilt of their parents, any interpretation concerning instinctual life is frankly accepted by them as an accusation. But this is not the least evil, since every accusation makes their conviction that you have been misled all the more pronounced. They know very well that these accusations could and should be made against their parents but not against themselves.

The instinctual impulses which are being defended against are characteristically multiple, diffuse, and have a simultaneity of existence which tenaciously demand satisfaction. The female patient repeatedly complained that she "could not handle two things at the same time." This complaint was particularly prevalent during an hour in which she was discussing her identification as a "biblical queen" and her greed. She reported that "things seemed to merge so that they had no middle part but only a beginning and an end which fused and became one." She then reported a fantasy in which her father had her mother's breast in his mouth, while his penis was in her "virus." The slip of the tongue was a contraction of vagina, behind, and anus. On the following day she reported the disappointment she experienced as a child when she could not defecate and urinate at the same time. It seemed clear that what she could not handle was the attempt to be both her father and her mother simultaneously. And on a deeper level there was the extreme disappointment over not being able to indulge in the instinctual pleasures of eating, urinating, defecating, and retaining, all at once. The latter objectives are probably the pre-oedipal goals of balance and equality.

In the light of these comments, why do we not say of these people that they are polymorphous perverse, instead of attempting to separate them out as a characterological group? Polymorphous perverse describes a level of regression which does not give us any new therapeutic tool. It even offers some reason to make a poor prognosis. After all, each individual does have multiple identifications which

in analysis have to be studied one by one. But this is misleading when applied to the asexual type of personality under discussion. The analysis of the structure cannot be accomplished by pointing out to the patient that here he is acting like mother and here like father. Indeed he is not. He is showing the characteristics of an arbitrator which is not only his grandmother reincarnated, but both his mother and his father at once. The analysis must expose the simultaneous existence of identification with both parents by one concept similar to the arbitrator. Nor will it suffice to express the identification by means of a negative interpretation, such as "You are neither fish nor fowl." It is only after the analysis of such a constellation that one can proceed as in every other analysis to demonstrate the gradual accumulation of the pieces of identification, historically. Indeed it is only then that the historical development really becomes clear.

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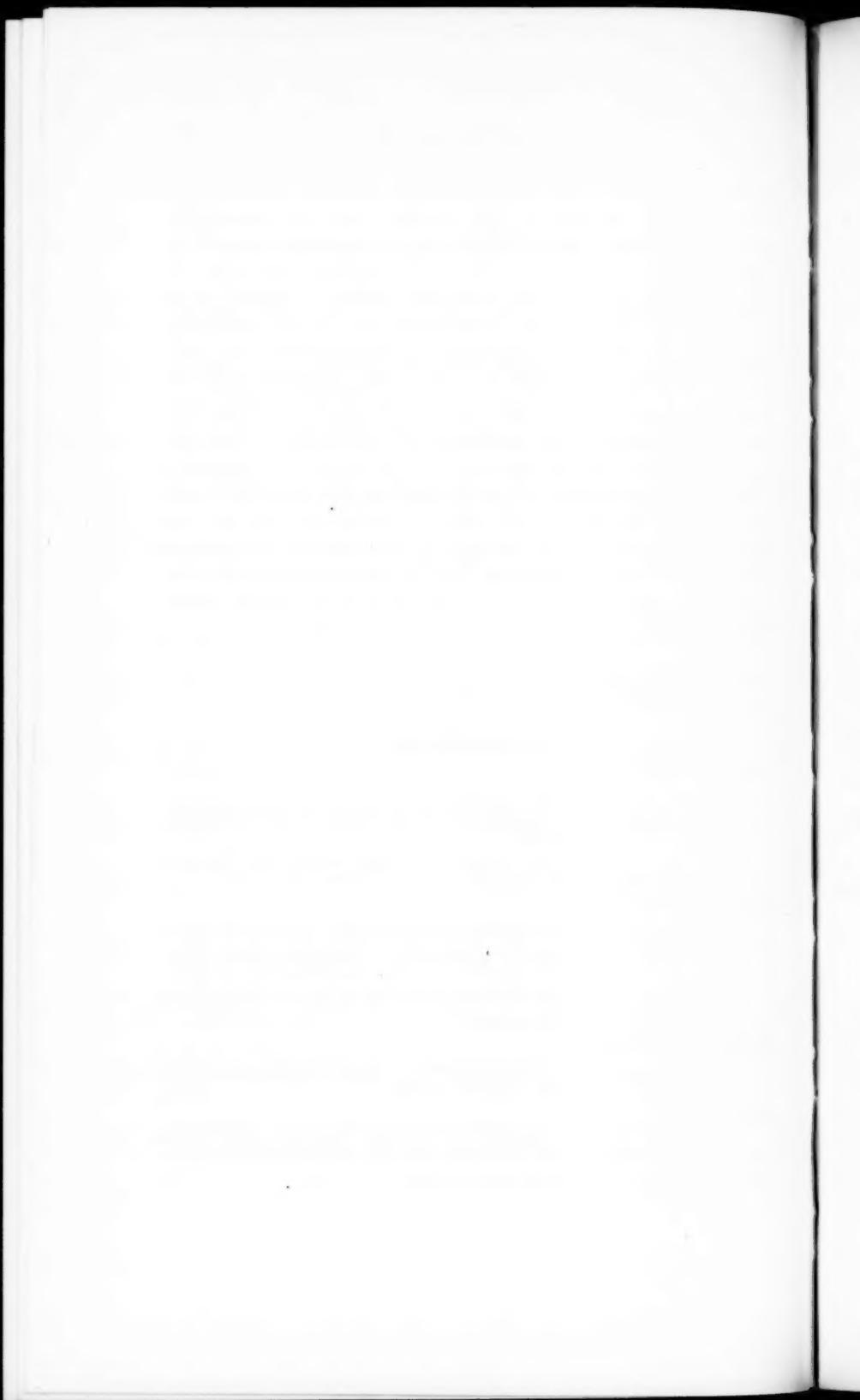
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Myth, Merit, And Mirage

of Literary Style

By
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The difference between the right word
and the almost right word is the differ-
ence between lightning and the lightning
bug.
— Mark Twain

Since Buffon, in the "Discours sur le Style" delivered on the occasion of his admission to the Academie Francaise in 1753, declared that "le style est l'homme même," this utterance has become a cross between a shibboleth and an axiom. Parrotlike, style is considered *the* yardstick of the real writer.

The trouble starts with the inability of writers and literary critics alike either to define or to agree on any definition of the term. Ex cathedra, a writer is conceded to have style only in exceptional cases. The majority of writers are upbraided because of their poor style. If the point is pressed, at best another quotation can be squeezed out, this time the Earl of Chesterfield's aphorism, "Style is the dress of thoughts." Which leaves us exactly where we were to begin with.

To increase the confusion, privately every writer has the greatest contempt for the style of his fellow writers. The most frequently heard objection is the ironic dictum, "*Some style!*"

Obviously, style is left to a judgment based on "feelings." "Don't ask me why, that man has no style," said a writer-patient when asked about the work of another writer. And here the matter rests, on the Procrustean bed of "don't ask me why . . ." Even if one penetrates beyond the "I just feel it" which is the traditional excuse of writers, one gets but a barrage of circumlocution, mostly clouding the issue with elegant phrases borrowed from notable literary people of the past. Coleridge with his now famous definition, "Prose

—words in their best order; poetry—the best words in their best order,” marches hand in hand with Goethe’s “Modern poets mix too much water with their ink.” Nor is Carlyle’s definition forgotten—“Poetry, therefore, we call musical thoughts.”

If one turns the tables and answers this barrage of meaningless quotations (which are always accompanied by pompous facial expressions of the see-what-I-mean type) with a few quotations from one’s own storehouse, writers behave as if a contemptible sacrilege had been committed. If one asks whether style is more important than content, citing Horace’s “Verses devoid of substance, melodious trifles,” and Thornton Wilder’s “Style is but the faintly contemptible vessel in which the bitter liquid is recommended to the world,” regret is voiced in the admission that “unfortunately” there must also be content, because the “stupid reader” (never forget your bag of quotations) is, according to Andre Gide, “greedy for sweets and trifles.”

Finally, one reminds oneself of H. L. Mencken’s witticism: “It is not sufficient that the thing said in poetry be untrue: it also must be said with a *certain grace*—it must soothe the ear while it debauches the mind. And it is not sufficient that it be voluptuous: it must also offer a rock and a refuge from the facts of every day.”

The dead end reached with the greatest of regularity in every attempt to pin down an admirer of style *per se* has no connection with such an admirer’s I.Q. The problem is simply inexplicable without elucidating the psychological question: why is the *expression* of thoughts (or even lack of thoughts) so highly overrated? If style is “the dress of thoughts,” the next question reads: what is beneath the dress?

* * *

In a long series of papers, summarized in my recent book **THE WRITER AND PSYCHOANALYSIS** (Doubleday, 1950), I tried to prove, on the basis of 36 analyses of writers, that the writer is a perpetual defendant accused before the high tribunal of his severe inner conscience. His

is a "*selfcurative alibi-sickness*." The various unconscious alibis used are reducible to these formulae: "I am not guilty of being a masochistic glutton for punishment;"—"If I am guilty at all, at best I am guilty of a crime different from the one charged in the indictment;"—"I'm not guilty because the whole of humanity is my accomplice;"—"I am not guilty of being a Peeping Tom, on the contrary I admit, as 'lesser crime', to exhibitionism."

What it practically amounts to is the writer's desperate fight against an unsolved and repressed psychic masochistic attachment to the pre-oedipal mother. The defendant unconsciously uses a peculiar and singular twist; whereas every neurotic needs two people to reenact his repressed infantile plot, the artist establishes an "*autarchy*," reducing the mother-child duality to the unification of a one-man-show. The alibi consists of denying the masochistic attachment by denying the mere existence of the disappointing mother: "I, myself, out of myself, give myself beautiful words and ideas." By acting *both*, the giving mother and the recipient child, the artist performs his "*magic gesture*" according to the established judicial principle, "no corpse, no crime."

The next defense, after establishing the alleged autarchy, consists of a series of "*admissions of the lesser crime*," characteristic of every neurosis, a fact worked out at length in **THE BASIC NEUROSIS** (Grune & Stratton, 1949). The main defenses of this type, used by the writer, are: pseudo-aggression as defense against deeper repressed psychic masochism, and exhibitionism as defense against equally deeper repressed voyeurism. Hence, writers fill their books with attacks against mores, prejudices, institutions, injustices. Hence, a book cannot be written unless the writer first develops a plot—the result of imagination (inner voyeurism)—which he puts on paper later, thus exhibiting before the reader. The banal objection, "what else should a writer do but write?" overlooks the fact that the impulse to write has to be explained, and not taken for granted. One can imagine a person's conceiving a plot without wanting to

elaborate on it and write it down. Writing is for the writer an *inner necessity*, and only secondarily a—mostly unsuccessful—attempt at making a living.

The superabundance of inner guilt is the clue to the writer. The writer does *not* express in his work his “repressed desires;” only the *secondary defenses against them are unwittingly presented*. The writer’s inner guilt, belonging genetically always to the basic oral-masochistic conflict, is secondarily shifted to various points. *One of these deposits is—the expression per se.*

It is *phenomenologically* a well-known fact that every writer creates his private hell plastered with “perfect” words. The search for the latter seems of prime importance. Viewed *analytically*, the writer’s overestimation of stylistic and verbal artistry is but a by-product in his lifelong “battle of the conscience.” Infinite care in finding the “right” word, and a constant feeling of guilt because he has not succeeded in “perfectly” expressing the inexpressible, are as characteristic of the writer as exaggerated pride in, and boasting about, precisely these achievements. At bottom, an *unconscious mechanism of shifted guilt is at work: guilt pertaining to the defense of the repressed masochistic problem is shifted to the technicality of expressing the defense.* In this shift, the inner problem is magnificently camouflaged, and even more magnificently rationalized—who can object to verbal artistry? Mark Twain’s statement, quoted at the beginning of this paper, proves to what degree the writer magnifies the importance of the shifted defense.

Hence, words absorb a great deal of inner guilt belonging re vera to the warded-off problem of psychic masochism. The substitution is of course only partially successful. The writer tortures himself, despite his shift, with his verbal substitute. But now he toils on a reality level, and that compensates for much. At least something palpable is substituted as the instrument of his daily and hourly torture.

In a previous paper, published in this journal (Vol. 5, No. 4), I adduced the example of Pritchett, who was told by

a reader that he had exposed a flagrant injustice in one of his stories. The author was rather surprised:

"I had undoubtedly exposed an evil but I had no idea when I wrote that I was doing so. . . . I recall that all my labor and indeed *all my conscience was in the choice of the best words.* . . ."

The words "all my conscience" are more than correct; an involuntary hint is included of what is really going on.

Sometimes even critics sense the connection, but these sporadic flashes are soon forgotten. A casual observation of T. S. Eliot's, from his essay on Baudelaire, belongs here: "One might even hazard the conjecture that the care for perfection and form, among the romantic poets of the nineteenth century, was an effort to support, or to conceal from view, an inner disorder."

The irony of the situation is unsurpassed: unconsciously, style has nothing to do with style. Unfortunately, the *deification of style* has more tragicomical consequences. The latter are understandable after even a cursory review of the falsification of life in literature.

* * *

In THE WRITER AND PSYCHOANALYSIS I described, among other facets of the subject, the *vicious circle of misrepresentation of life in literature*. The fact is to be recorded that the reader is shortchanged four times. The myth of objectivity in literature is a myth because of *six highly personal and unreliable "filtration" processes*.

First, the writer is not an objective observer of reality. He uses reality factors only insofar as they fit into his own defensive pattern. His inner business requires—for purposes of inner survival—the furnishing of an alibi to be presented to his inner conscience. The latter is unconsciously done, by hook or by crook.

To cite but one example. Suppose a hemosexual writer describes a group of people arguing whether or not happy marriages do exist. The discussion is dramatized by the example of a newly-wed couple in the neighborhood; ideal love

blossoms there, a baby is dearly loved. These newly-weds, a middle-aged couple, had waited many years to marry, hoping for the man to make a financial success. Finally they married—but it turns out that the wife was companion to a wealthy old woman, who in her will made a bequest to her, and that the future husband was the old lady's physician. Conspiring to shorten their wait, the two had administered an overdose of sleeping pills. Both were indicted, but acquitted, basically because a gynecological scrutiny proved the companion-nurse to be a virgin. The puritanic conscience had forbidden pre-marital sex, but not murder. Does this ironic story, written to disprove the writer's inner guilt pertaining to defenses; for instance of missing heterosexual bliss, prove something against marriage? Or is the story representative of life? Or, to mention the opposite extreme, does the long list of nymphomaniacs and promiscuous wolves who occupy the front seat in modern novels prove that all modern women and men are neurotics? Or, is idealization of romantic love (presented after the principle of the neurotic writer's defense, "Not that I am incapable of love, love is too small for me"), an idealization taken as authoritative model by millions of boys and girls everywhere, a precise mirror of reality?

Second, the *editor*, the publisher's executive lieutenant, is not an objective evaluator of reality, either. Being mostly an inhibited and frustrated writer himself, called upon to judge the products of his less inhibited competitors, he prefers trash, simply because trash offers a convenient inner alibi for his own incapacity. "True, the other fellow writes, but he produces only trash." Add to this the personal danger of recommending to the publisher a writer travelling the un-beaten path (a few financially unrewarding recommendations can cost the editor his position). The result is that the typical editor mostly agrees with Ibsen's conservative in **AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE**, who claimed that the public does not require any new ideas, being best served with the old-fashioned ones which it already has.

Third, the *publisher* is but a gambler who speculates on the reader's market, instead of the Stock Exchange. He, too, prefers trash: "It sells better." And nobody can claim that trash depicts reality as it is. The "reality" of the publisher is the lowest common denominator of his distorted fantasy of what a reader really is.

Fourth, the *literary critic* is the least reliable of all. Usually the critic, not unlike the editor, is himself an inhibited writer unconsciously filled with undigested anger against the productive writer. His anger is generally camouflaged by very, very high "literary standards"—which standards, by the way, change with every critic. It is no secret that the less productive the critic is as a writer, the more devastating are his reviews. Add to this the fact that today's critic is completely ignorant of psychiatric-psychoanalytic knowledge, and at the same time has to judge unconscious mechanisms. The result is a—frequently malicious—amateur cloaked in omniscience.

The highly misleading product of this quadrangular filtration process is submitted to the final judge—the poor *reader*. He is, so to speak, the fifth dupe in falsification of reality, an innocent accessory. Responsible for this fact are the traditional respect for the printed word, reverence for the professional critic's dictum, and finally the reader's own rather naive wish for imported emotions, to be enjoyed via identification. This triad works thus: Respect for the printed word is based on schoolbooks, handed down by authorities in nursery and classroom. Even nonsense, in print, has this unconscious stamp of authority, and even in the later rebel. This same authority constitutes the second link, the critic. The spinelessness with which the critic's biased opinions are accepted at face value is not even funny any more. "I am ashamed to admit," an intelligent man once told me, in all seriousness, "that I could not agree with the critics praising this book. It must be my ignorance, I guess"

Burdened with fears resulting from authoritative print

and critic, the reader is reluctant to be on his own. What he really wants is to import emotion which correspond to his own inner defenses.

* * *

The falsifying filtration process has, as I now see, a *sixth link*: defication of style. The reader has no direct access to the writer. Only if a publisher publishes a book can it reach the reader. And one of the silly and distorting yardsticks determining the acceptance or rejection of a manuscript is the legend of "good" and "bad" style.

Mencken's definition of style, "It must be said with a certain grace," comes nearest to facts. Thoughts, situations, characterizations, must be expressed in some readable fashion. The simpler the style, the better. Obviously, style must not impede the narrative; in other words, it must be pleasantly unobtrusive. But out of this way of communication, neurotics have made a half-god, worshipped for the sake of style—whatever that may mean for them.

Style means—in unconscious reality—one of the landmarks of the individual "battle of the conscience" ravaging in the writer. Guilt is shifted from the real problem to the technical expression of the defense. All this is unknown to the uninitiated; therefore he talks his head off about "beautiful" and "lousy" style. But inwardly—in his unconscious—the editor, the publisher, the critic, knows exactly what is really going on. Therefore editor, publisher and critic harp endlessly on "style," accusing the other fellow of having temporarily solved his conflict with his individual inner conscience. If the writer's style is "good," unconscious envy comes to the fore: "Who are you to be victorious in a battle we have lost?" If the style, in their estimation, is "bad," unconscious gloating of the most vicious variety appears: "You are a loser, too." In projection of their own defeat, the *style* of the writer is indicted.

These concomitants of diversified unconscious episodes in the "battle of the conscience" are by no means merely ludicrous. They also account for the fact that some good

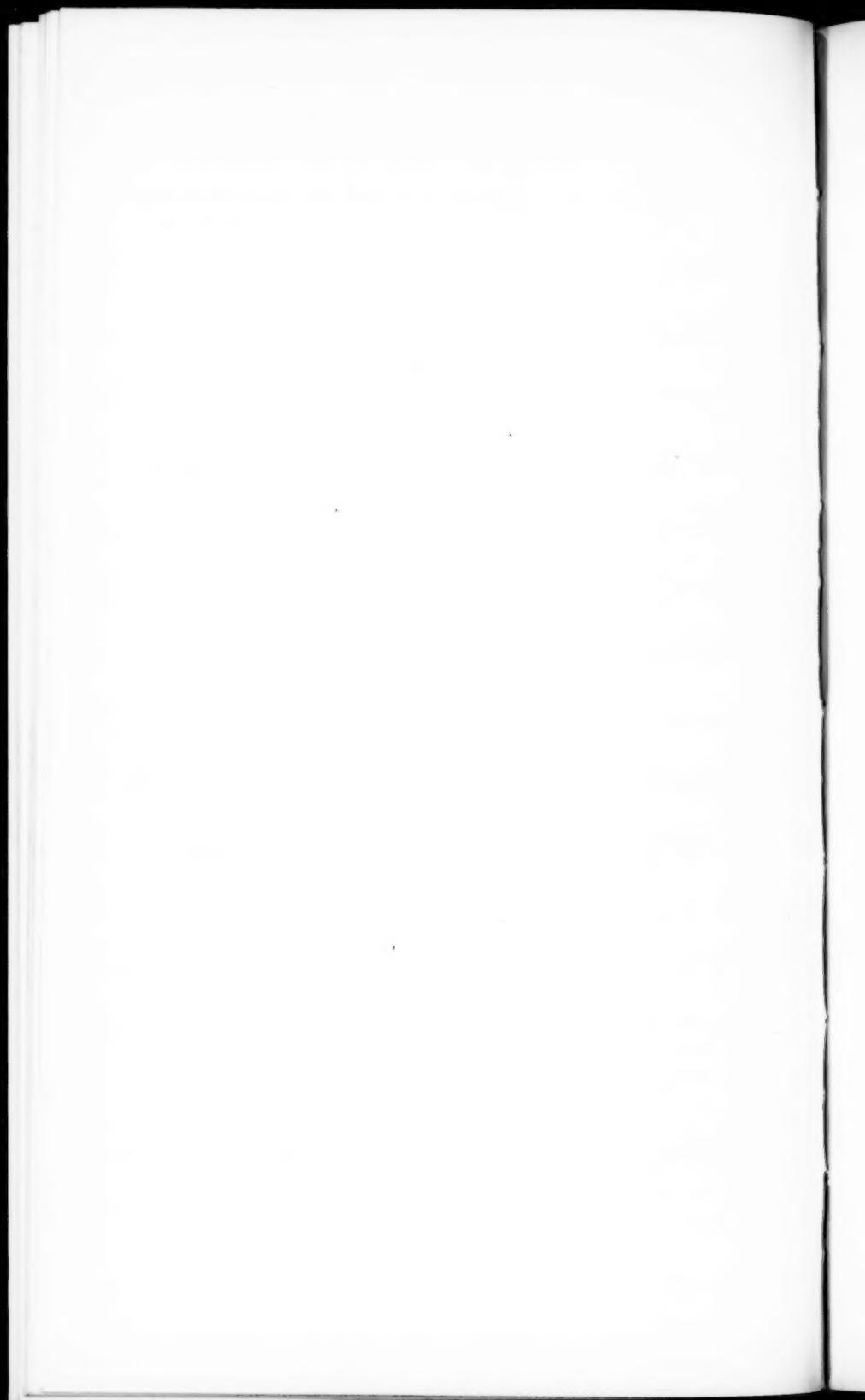
books are rejected by publishing houses—in the holy name of holy style. Thus, many a good book never reaches the public.*

Expressed differently: a yardstick is applied by book “experts” which is of little concern to the reader. The yardstick is “fraudulently” fashioned after *inner conflicts of the rejecting neurotics* in the publishing house (editor), or newspaper office (critic), and secondarily rationalized as “protection” of the reader. Sometimes, the three M’s in style (myth, merit, mirage), simply add up to a—deadweight.

Buffon was mistaken in believing that style is the person proper. Style is not even the distant cousin of “l’homme même;” it is rather *a part of conscience money paid to the distant cousin*.

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*The starting point of deliberations leading to the present paper's conclusions was my unsuccessful attempt to recommend a young writer's valuable novel to a few “experts.” The book, psychologically, was first-rate; the alleged dubious style was the impediment. The amount of nonsense I heard on this occasion from professionals convinced me that the current misuse of the term “style” is worth investigating.



Hallowe'en: Ritual and Myth In A Children's Holiday

By

Louis and Selma Fraiberg

I. The American Children's Holiday

In the games and lore of childhood we see the survivals of archaic knowledge and rituals. It is as if childhood were the museum of the race, a repository of the cast-off beliefs, the moribund rites and the impotent magic of the centuries. These relics share the fate of discards from unremembered time—the children take them over. The determined scavengers, the archeologists of the junk heap, retrieve them before they are lost and preserve them with childish exactitude. So it is that ancient custom lives on in the games and beliefs of childhood, in which forgotten rites of magic, sacrifice and taboo can easily be discerned.

This brings us to some reflections on the celebration of Hallowe'en today. Here we see the children as the inheritors of primitive rites concerned with harvest and the return of the dead, customs which are rooted so deeply in the pagan past of Europe that the Church was forced to compromise with and, in the end, to adopt some of these practices under the thin disguise of All Saints and All Souls Days. In modern times the traditions and lore of Hallowe'en have almost perished as living rites. In this country they survive in the children's holiday as games and customs whose origins and meanings are unknown to the enthusiasts who perform them. Nor does it matter, for childhood has its own reasons for the preservation and perennial revival of the ancient rites.

To our knowledge the holiday has only once before been subjected to psychoanalytic scrutiny. Richard Sterba 1) examines European, especially Viennese, observances for the dead on All Souls Day and the American children's Hallowe'en. He finds that the Europeans accept the fact of death

and, by appropriate ceremonial commemorations, appease the ghosts of the departed, i.e., their own guilt and fears. Americans, however, tend to deny death and consequently fear it greatly. The children who go about on Hallowe'en in bizarre costumes represent the returning dead. By assuming this identity they place themselves in a situation in which they may unconsciously be regarded as dead themselves. They therefore serve the double purpose of evoking the demanding spirits and appeasing them by their own deaths. For the parents this is the equivalent of having sacrificed the children. Thus the little drama is played out and by an evening of fun atonement is made to the dead for the neglect of them which arises from the American unwillingness to face a necessary but unpleasant reality.

This study deals with the present form of the observance in this country, with its derivation from ancient religious and folk customs and with its social and psychological significance. It reviews the origins and the development of the practices which are so familiar and attempts not only to describe but to explain them.

To begin with, let us examine some of the customs of Hallowe'en as practiced by children in this country. It is a night of strange happenings and evil doings. Witches, skeletons, ghosts, gypsy fortune tellers and fairies are abroad with pumpkin lanterns, baskets and bells. With them are usually an assortment of cowboys, Indians, clowns, freaks, bears, tigers and even an occasional out-of-season Easter bunny. They ring the bells of each lighted house, singing out the lugubrious chant, "Help the po-o-o-r!" Or more ominously, "A trick or treat!" It is the duty of each householder to feign horror and speedily fill the outstretched baskets and hands with apples, nuts, candies, cookies or money.

While the just are not rewarded, except in a negative sense, the wicked are punished this night by the spirits who lurk everywhere. A wicked householder may receive a generous heap of garbage at his door or in his hallway. If he is luckier he may only have a pin stuck in his doorbell to

induce a head-splitting continuous ring for the time it takes to find the source of the trouble—which may take some time, of course. On the night before Hallowe'en, too, the celebrants of "Doorbell Night" (a warming-up exercise) pursue the labor of ringing all doorbells indiscriminately and disappearing into the darkness while the angry tenant fumes on his doorstep.

On Hallowe'en doorknobs, signs, portable ornaments, porch furniture, garbage cans, automobile accessories, may be stolen by the avenging spirits who are abroad. Some of these items may find their way into the bonfires which burn here and there. The soaping and defacing of windows is an honored custom on this night. The malicious breaking of windows is also widespread. Usually the outraged householder has no redress. For on this night the police, the parents, have unseeing eyes and deaf ears. License is granted up to a certain point, but beyond that point, wherever it may be, the police will listen to the complaints of citizens. One cooperative juvenile police officer reported to us that his precinct received complaints regarding all of the usual pranks of Hallowe'en and some unusual ones, including that of smearing faeces on doors!

At midnight, however, the spirits have departed, and who is to say the next morning, that a small boy who was transformed into a ghost on the previous evening, can be held responsible for a missing garbage can seized by the spirit who had entered him for the occasion?

The traditional party games and decorations of Hallowe'en are known to all children. Orange and black are the colors of the day. The witch on her broomstick, the grinning pumpkin, the black cat and the skeleton are its symbols. The Hallowe'en party is a gathering of spirits. Here in an atmosphere of evil and gloom they connive. Games of chance are played; fortunes are told. Traditional foods—doughnuts and cider—are eaten. Often a cake in which are baked small tokens is eaten by the company.

America's children still play the traditional games. We

are all familiar with apple bobbing, nut games and mirror tests, all from the past.

Bobbing for apples is an old-time Hallowe'en favorite. Apples are floated in a tub of water while the children, hands tied or clasped behind them, attempt to retrieve one with their teeth. The first one to bite into his apple in this precarious manner is the winner. Some say he or she will be the first to marry. In a variation of the game, one's fortune for the year is predicted by the flavor of the apple, sweet, acid soft, etc. In other forms of the game apples are strung from the ceiling and the contestants, hands tied, try to seize them using only their teeth. Apple seeds, too, are valuable for making prophecies. The number of seeds may foretell the number of children, years before marriage or the letters one will receive in a month. Apple parings also have the virtue of prophecy. If a girl tosses an apple paring over her shoulder to the floor it will form into the initial of the one who loves her.

It is customary to burn nuts in the open fire. The nuts are named and are placed in the fire to test the love or faithlessness of the person whose name they bear. In one version the first nut to pop assures its owner of true love. In another the nut that cracks stands for an unfaithful lover, the blazing nut stands for one who holds the girl in high regard but the one that burns steadily is the one she will marry.

Another favorite is the mirror test. If a girl walks backward down the cellar with a mirror in one hand and a candle in the other she will see the face of her true love in the mirror.

Besides these traditional rites and basic formulas there are numerous other games of modern invention more or less appropriate to the season. Most of these, however, are the brainwork of those tireless and effervescent ladies who turn out such things for the newspapers and women's magazines. The favorite games are the old ones, the games of magic and prophecy. They have a secure niche in childhood along with all the other mumbo-jumbo, the charms for warts, the skip-rope rhymes, the portent of killing a spider or snake, the

catching of birds with salt, the horse's hair which turns into a snake when put into water, the lucky numbers, wishing on a star, the magic phrase to propitiate fate, the forecasts through counting and reciting the alphabet and the touching rites which break the power of evil.

In this paper, we propose to investigate the customs of Hallowe'en in America first from the historical and folk psychological standpoint and second from the viewpoint of its meaning to the children who participate.

II. Historical and Folk Psychological

A. The Origins of Our Hallowe'en Customs

The pranks and customs which our American children practice on Hallowe'en are derived from readily traceable sources. The majority have developed in an almost unbroken line from the observances of the ancient Celts. Along the way they have been subjected to strong Teutonic influences the traces of which are still visible. In addition, there is more than a reminiscence of the rites of the Roman goddess, Pomona. They have also been affected by the powerful force of the Church which during the centuries has grappled with their paganism and adapted to its own uses what it could not destroy. Lastly, there is the effect upon these venerable usages of the American environment.

The central theme of the original rites as well as many of their later modifications is sacrifice. This can be seen in both aspects of Hallowe'en, the festival of thanksgiving for the harvest and the commemoration of the dead.

B. The Fire Observances

The fire festivals described by Frazer²⁾ occurred at six times during the year—at the winter and summer solstices, the equinoxes, on the eves of May Day and November first. The last of these developed into our Hallowe'en. We shall briefly review here some of the typical fire observances and their related customs in the Celtic countries from which so many of our own are derived.

The Celts were the ancient people of Britain who prac-

ticed the Druid religion. When the Piets and Scots invaded their land, they sought help from the Teutonic tribes across the Channel. This they received and the invaders were vanquished but when the victorious Saxons observed the fertile and pleasant land they decided to remain as conquerors. As a result many of the Celts were scattered to Ireland, Scotland, Wales and certain English counties. Some of them went across the Channel to Armorica which they renamed Brittany in memory of their former home. They are the ancestors of the Bretons. In all of these places there are records of similar Hallowe'en observances which stem from a common source, the religion of the Druids, the priestly class of the Celts.

In ancient Ireland a new fire was kindled every year on Hallowe'en (which was known as the eve of Samhain, the end of summer) and from this sacred flame all the fires in Ireland were rekindled. This indicates that November first was the first day of the new year. The fire, which was symbolic of the sun, stood for his return after his winter disappearance and was at the same time a charm to insure that return.

At a later period it is recorded that at bedtime in some Irish houses the ashes were raked smooth on the hearth and examined the next morning for footprints. If none appeared all was well. If there was a footprint turned from the door and toward the interior of the house, guests or a marriage was in store; if it was turned toward the door it meant a death.

In Scotland, the western part of which was colonized by people from eastern Ireland, we find similar customs. The bonfires of ancient Ireland, which later either died out or were replaced by candles, were continued in Scotland. They were kindled on the heights and there was one for each house with great rivalry to see who should have the largest. When the fire had died down the ashes were collected in a circle and a stone was put in for every person. Next morning if any of the stones was found to be displaced or damaged the

person it represented was believed to be fated to die within the year.

In some northern Scottish villages the boys went about and begged fuel from the householders saying, "Ge's a peat to burn the witches." They made a pile of these together with all sorts of other combustible materials and lit it. Then each of them in turn laid himself down on the ground as near to the fire as possible and allowed the smoke to roll over him. The others ran through the smoke and jumped over the prostrate one. When the heap was burned they scattered the ashes widely.

During the eighteenth century in the Highlands and in Perthshire torches of heath, broom, flax or ferns were carried about the fields and villages by each family to insure good crops. The celebrants went about the fields from east to west, the direction of the sun. Afterward all the torches were thrown in a heap and a bonfire made of them. Each person put in one stone over which ashes were then raked. In the morning each looked for his pebble and if it was found to be displaced or harmed or if a footprint was marked in the ashes nearby it foreboded death within a year.

In England it was the custom in pre-Christian times to light bonfires to ward off evil spirits. Until comparatively recent years, men stood about the bonfires waving pitchforks covered with woven wisps of burning straw to drive away the witches. In Derbyshire torches of straw were carried about the haystacks on All Souls eve to light souls through Purgatory. In Lancashire in the early nineteenth century people used to go about begging for candles to drive away witches. If these were kept burning until midnight it was thought that no evil influence could remain nearby. This concern with sacred fire survived in the form of a Hallowe'en game. A lighted candle and an apple were fastened to opposite ends of a whirling stick. As it turned each person in turn sprang up and tried to bite the apple. The penalty for missing was a scorched nose or cheek.

In Wales the custom of bonfires on Hallowe'en persisted

longer than in most other Celtic lands. At one time animal sacrifices were actually burned in them; later the creatures—usually cattle—were merely passed through the fire. With the rise of Christianity, fire assumed the power of protection against the evil power of the banished gods. In north Wales, each family built a November fire into the embers of which each person threw a white stone marked so that it could be identified as his. The family then circled about the fire saying its prayers and went to bed. In the morning, each searched for his stone and if he could not find it, he believed that he would die within the next twelve months. A related custom was to watch the fire until the last spark died and then instantly start up and rush down the hill shouting, "The cutty black sow (or the Devil) take the hindmost!" Nowadays, instead of leaving stones in the fire, the people go to church and see by the light of a candle held in the hand the spirits of those who will die. On the eve of All Souls Day and on the day itself, fires are burned to light the souls through Purgatory.

Other customs using fire were common. In Ireland nut shells were burned. One such test was performed with three nuts, one for the girl and one each for two sweethearts. If one burned steadily with the girl's nut the lover would be faithful to her but if either hers or one of the others started away they were obviously not meant for each other. The poet Burns has recorded a similar custom from Scotland in the eighteenth century:

Burning the nuts is a famous charm. They name the lad and lass to each particular nut, as they lay them in the fire, and accordingly as they burn quietly together, or start from beside one another, the course and issue of the courtship will be. 3)

In the north of England, where Hallowe'en is sometimes called Nutcrack Night, nuts are named for two lovers and placed before the fire to roast. The unfaithful lover's nut cracks and jumps away, the loyal burns with a steady and ardent flame until only ashes are left. If the girl's nut

burns quietly with the lover's nut they will live happily together; if they are both restless there is trouble ahead. In Wales, at the Hallow Eve supper, nuts are thrown into the fire, denoting prosperity if they blaze brightly and misfortune if they pop or smoulder and turn black.

Similarly, in some Celtic countries, tokens were baked in a cake and foretold their recipients' fortunes. In Ireland a ring and a nut were thus concealed. The person receiving the ring would marry; the nut signified that its finder would marry a widow or widower. In Roscommon a coin, a sloe and a bit of wood were baked together. The one getting the sloe would live the longest, the recipient of the wood was fated to die but the coin betokened riches. A related custom in the Isle of Man called for each person in the family to fill a thimble with salt and empty it into a little mound on a plate before retiring. If any heap was found fallen over the next morning the person represented was destined to die within a year. Survivals of these customs may be seen in the children's games of our present-day Hallowe'en, many of them almost unchanged from the older forms.

We may here attempt a reconstruction of the original Hallowe'en fire observances. The bonfires were at first sacrificial fires lit at the beginning of the new year. The fire itself symbolized the sun. It was at the same time a magical act showing him how to reappear after the winter was over and a means of offering a sacrifice to him and to the evil forces which had overcome him and would hold him in captivity for the next six months. The intent in the first instance was to persuade him to come back and in the second the two-fold one of making the offer as attractive as possible and at the same time appeasing his captors so that they would release him. The object sacrificed might have been a personal possession, an animal or a part of the harvest. At one time it was certainly a human being.

Probably this victim was one of the group or family which sat around the home fire. Perhaps he was chosen by lot. This might account for the custom of a bonfire for each

family, which was mentioned earlier, and possibly indicates the origin of the use of pebbles, nuts and the like to find which one of the group is marked for death in the coming year.

The Druids are known to have sacrificed criminals and prisoners of war; the Teutonic priests did likewise. Their victims were either burned alive or first cut and torn and their dead bodies then placed on the fire. From these sacrifices auspices were taken. Frazer records numerous survivals of similar practices in fire festivals which take place at other turning points of the year in various parts of Europe.⁴⁾ Effigies, wickerwork images of men or even live animals, especially cats and foxes, are burned at these times. The custom does not persist in the Hallowe'en of our day but there are reminders of it in the pictures of black cats which glare from the wall at the party table with its burning candles and in the bonfire itself.

The dynamics of folk observances are similar in some ways to the production of dreams. The same kind of distortion takes place here as in the dream work. The unconscious impulse is transformed into a symbolic action which is conditioned by the realities of the external environment but nonetheless obeys its own laws. Universal symbols are used but they are elaborated upon and fused with local or private symbols until the original impulse is no longer recognizable to the person who performs the action except on an intuitive basis or with the help of psychoanalytic insight.

Thus the boys who lie down near the flames and then jump through the smoke are repeating in another form the action of their forefathers who marched their cattle through the smoke to purify them. They in turn were doing in a less dramatic way what their ancestors had done when they actually burned a bull to the sun, and this again was probably a substitute for the sacrifice of a human being as practiced in earlier times.

The bonfire itself as a symbol underwent changes in different times and places. When the influence of the Church

made itself felt, some people abandoned bonfires altogether at Hallowe'en and used only candles. Others did not use fire in any form as an integral part of the celebration. In America the bonfire has been revived by the children who burn in it all sorts of objects which they have appropriated without the permission of their parents. The children do not, of course, recognize the sacrificial aspect of this highly pleasurable custom. If they think of it all they probably regard the fire as a defiant act directed against authority in general and their parents in particular.

The signs of a human victim have today largely vanished from the bonfire but they are still discernible in some of the other customs of children. The jack-o'-lantern, for instance, may be regarded as a representation of the ancient fire sacrifice by the device of opposites. The candle in the pumpkin (the fire in the victim) stands for the victim in the fire and is thus related to the wickerwork effigies burnt in the fires described by Frazer.

C. Supernatural Beings and Dead Ancestors

As previously indicated our Hallowe'en is in part a commemoration of the dead. It has been concerned with them from earliest times. The ancient Celts who marked the coming of winter on the eve of November first mourned the loss of the sun for six months and the temporary victory of evil and death over the forces of life. While they were still a pastoral people it seemed plausible to them that the ghosts of the dead should be cold at this time of year and that, since the herdsmen took in the cattle and sheltered and fed them, they ought to do no less for the spirits of the departed.

Thus in one part of Ireland it became the custom to build up the fire at night, set chairs around it and place a clean cloth on the table with a large uncut loaf of bread and a jug of water or tea. The family then went to bed. In the night the spirits were thought to eat and drink and warm themselves by the fire.

In the course of time, the well-known Celtic belief in

fairies grew. These creatures were thought to be abroad on Hallowe'en. In Scotland whoever took a three-legged stool to where three crossroads met and sat upon it at midnight would hear them whisper the names of those who were to die within the year. However, if articles of dress had been brought along and were tossed one by one to the fairies as each name was pronounced, they would be so pleased with the gifts that the death sentences would be repealed. In the Isle of Man the people see circles of light in the late October midnight and the fairies dancing within them. In Ireland the doors to their secret dwellings underground are open only on Hallowe'en and the human who enters at that time may be kept there for seven years or forever. It was an early belief, and one repeated by Burns, 5) that the fairies held a grand anniversary that night. This in time became related to the witches' sabbath, which will be discussed later.

The Bretons, who were expelled from their homeland in the fourth century, retained their Celtic beliefs and customs in purer form than any other people until the seventeenth century. These included the fire sacrifices and their derivative rituals but the one which has lasted the longest is the cult of the dead. Julius Caesar said that the Celts of Gaul traced their ancestry from the god of death, Dispater. In Brittany the spirits of the dead are said to possess the earth on Christmas, St. John's Day, and All Saints Day. In Finisterre there is a saying that on the eve of All Souls Day "there are more dead in every house than sands on the shore." Even throughout the rest of the year these folk have a close relationship with their deceased ancestors. "We live with our dead," say the Bretons. 6)

On the eve of All Souls there is a religious service, the Black Vespers. After a common prayer all go out to the cemetery to pray separately, each by the grave of his kin. On the tombs are Latin inscriptions reminding the reader of his inevitable death. From the cemetery the people go to a house or inn singing or talking loudly to warn off the dead who are abroad, lest they meet. Reunions of families

take place on this night. A toast is drunk to the memory of the departed. The men sit about the fireplace smoking or weaving baskets; the women apart, knitting or spinning. The children play with their gifts of apples and nuts. Stories are told about the dead.

The dead are thought to take up existence were they left off, working at the same trades, even wearing the same clothes. They do not go to another world but remain in their former homes or places of work. One must, of course, never slight their memory or otherwise displease them.

On this night just before midnight a bell man goes about the streets to warn the people that the dead will soon be here. Supper is then set out for them. The people retire and lie with both eyes shut lest they see one of the guests. Then death-singers go about and sing beneath the windows. This awakens the "sleepers" who then rise and pray for the souls of the departed. 7)

While the preoccupation with death is not as intense in the other Celtic countries, the awareness of it is nonetheless present. In combination with the fairy beliefs of the Celts and with the Teutonic belief in the lesser divinities who peopled nature it lends its character to our own Hallowe'en celebration.

These Teutonic peoples, some of whose beliefs and practices we inherit, comprised the Goths and Vandals of Scandinavia and the Germans who lived north of Italy and east of Gaul. The cultivated their fields and hunted and fished for a living while they explored the seas and ravaged their neighbors' lands for pastime. They believed in black elves, called trolls, who were frost spirits and guarded treasure (i.e., seeds) in the ground; and in white elves who lived in mid-heaven and danced on the earth in fairy rings. There were also will-o-the-wisps who hovered over swamps to mislead travelers and jack-o-lanterns which were the spirits of murderers and walked the earth near the scenes of their crimes.

While Christianity had supplanted Druidism in the

British Isles by the sixth century, it was not until the ninth that it made much progress in Scandinavia. Many of the pagan customs were adapted to the needs of the new religion simply by changing the names of the old gods to those of the new saints. The gods were cast out into the night and came to be regarded as evil spirits. Together with the Black Elves, the White Elves, the will-o-the-wisps and the rest they represented the forces of darkness and fear. For instance, Odin and Freya in the Norse mythology had had power over the souls of the dead. Under the new order they were accused of possessing unlawful learning concerning hidden matters of death.

This possession of unlawful knowledge is always one of the first accusations made against witches. These women are the inheritors of the superstitious awe with which all women were regarded by primitive man. This feeling grew both out of biological differences which could not be understood and were therefore feared and out of the woman's social role as the keeper of the home fire, the gatherer of herbs and the maker of refreshing and magical drinks and remedies. In historic times women have been priestesses like the seeress of Delphic Apollo through whom the oracle of the god manifested itself. This long association of women with the mysterious forces of nature and with the gods themselves made it inevitable that they should be thought to continue their strange and fearsome practices under the guidance of the now outlawed and evil deities. Since this was the case it was obviously necessary that they must go from time to time and consult with their masters.

The natural time for such an evil gathering was one of the turning points of the year when other evil things were also abroad. This idea was an important factor in the genesis of the witches' sabbath. Many of these obscene celebrations were thought to occur at former places of sacrifice or judgment, at wells, springs or the like whose deities had been banished. By the fifteenth century Satan, taking the place of the old gods, had assumed the lordship of the evil

creatures. He appeared at their revels, often in the form of a goat; the witches were attended by cats, owls, bats and cuckoos, all of them creatures which had once been sacred to Freya. At the feasts horse flesh, once the food of the gods, was eaten.

Walpurgis Night, the most famous of the witches' sabbaths, took place on the Eve of May Day. A description of it is pertinent here because it is typical of such gatherings and because many of its features are also characteristic of Hallowe'en. Indeed, many of the folk festivals which at first seem wholly unrelated will be found upon examination to have not only many similarities but also numerous identical practices which they have apparently borrowed from each other. This is in accordance with Freud's statement that ". . . the content of the unconscious is collective . . . a general possession of mankind." 8) There seems to be a sort of exchange in the folk unconscious in which various symbolic responses to certain stimuli are available; they are utilized whenever a suitable occasion arises. This is undoubtedly true of the practices which have been devised for occasions like Hallowe'en.

Walpurga was a British nun who went to Germany in the eighth century to found holy houses. After her death a healing oil was said to trickle from her tomb. Since this was reminiscent of the fruitful dew which fell from the manes of the Valkyries' horses and since one of the days sacred to Walpurga was the first of May (a day which was also the wedding day of Frau Holda and the sun god), the people gradually began to think of her as a Valkyrie and some even identified her with Holda! When these deities were banished the nun, who had by now lost her character as a holy woman who did Christ's work, was banished along with them. She became a member of the pagan band which flew through the skies on the eve of May first and met afterwards on mountain tops to sacrifice and to adore Holda. The similarity of this holiday with Hallowe'en is immediately evident. Both provide a liberation of the forces of evil — albeit a temporary

one—both are times to beware of witches, to try omens for the future. These celebrations of the beginning of summer and winter, respectively, are the opposite sides of the same coin.

The Church also made its influence felt in the development of Hallowe'en. In its attempt to abolish paganism in Europe it met with a stubborn unwillingness to change which sometimes thwarted it. Where the hold of the ancient gods was not too strong it succeeded in adapting the old observances to the uses of the new religion. Thus in time the autumn festival of the Druids became the vigil of All Hallows, or All Saints Day.

All Saints was first suggested in the fourth century, when Christians were no longer being persecuted, in memory of all the saints since there were too many of them for each to have a special day on the Church calendar. A day in May was chosen by Pope Boniface IV in the year 610 for the consecration of the Pantheon to the Virgin and all the saints and martyrs. Pope Gregory III dedicated a chapel in St. Peter's to them also and that day was made compulsory in 835 by Pope Gregory IV as All Saints. The day was later changed from May to November so that the crowds which thronged into Rome for the festival would arrive after the harvest had taken place and so could more easily be fed.

In the tenth century St. Odilo, Bishop of Cluny, instituted a day of prayer and special masses for the souls of the dead. This became All Souls Day and was set for November second. Thus the Celtic festival in which the spirits of darkness and evil triumphed over the god of light was evolved into a commemorative religious observance in honor of the dead.

The Church, however, was forced to compromise with the forces of paganism, so strongly were the latter entrenched. The two days, taken together, are both an honoring of the sacred and secular dead and a struggle against the forces of evil.

In many countries it was impossible to persuade people

to abandon the custom of lighting bonfires; the bonfires were thereupon interpreted as being necessary for lighting souls through Purgatory into Paradise and were no longer used for lighting the sun to his death on Samhain. The pagans had prayed to the lord of death for a pleasant dwelling place for the souls of departed friends and relatives; the Christians for their speedy deliverance from torture. Both celebrate death, the one of the sun, the other of mortals. The observances of both are designed to cheer men, to help them overcome the malign influences which are abroad and to rejoice over the souls who, after many wanderings and sufferings, are entering eternal bliss.

The practice of American children who go begging in groups from house to house while dressed in strange and terrifying costumes is, of course, a representation of the visiting dead. The children are the ghosts of deceased ancestors and friends, they are the Celtic fairy folk and they are the banished gods who have become evil spirits. Their role also requires a more fundamental psychological explanation which will be discussed later.

D. Harvest Customs

The second major aspect of our Hallowe'en is its character as a harvest festival. Although Thanksgiving Day has been set aside specifically for this purpose, traces of harvest customs are obvious in Hallowe'en and, in fact, play an important part in its observance. This is another illustration of the inter-changeability of symbols in folk festivals. To cite still another, there is the fact that the meaning of Hallowe'en as a commemoration of the dead is not at all impaired by the celebration of their memory on Armistice and Memorial Days. The symbol recurs as often as it is required to express the unconscious needs of the people.

As we have seen, Hallowe'en is derived from the seasonal observances of a pastoral people who celebrated the time of year when their herds were brought indoors. By then most of the harvest was over. After they became primarily agri-

cultural, the date was still kept but now the holiday began to mark the yield of the soil and to acknowledge the beneficent influence of the sun upon the crops. Many of nature's products are therefore a component part of the festivities. Since November first was also New Years Day and consequently a time for trying to foresee the future, fruits and nuts were used in charms and omens. There is, however, an important difference between the tests derived from the fires and those originating in the harvest. The former are forecasts of death; if one is chosen it means that he will not survive the year. This is in keeping with the character of the fires as presaging the disappearance of the sun and of the necessity for making a sacrifice for his return. The latter are also sacrifices but in the form of a thank-offering. The customs which grew out of this background concern themselves more with life than with death, although not exclusively, as is illustrated by the following folk practices.

In Ireland hemp-seed is sown across three furrows and the sower repeats: "Hemp-seed, I saw thee; hemp-seed I saw thee; and her that is to be my true love, come after me and draw me." If he looks back over his shoulder he will see the apparition of his future wife, gathering the hemp.⁹⁾

Seven cabbage stalks are named for any seven of the company, then pulled up. The guests are asked to come and "see their souls." The following rhyme tells what they may expect:

One, two, three and up to seven;
If all are white, all go to heaven;
If one is black as Murtagh's evil
He'll soon be screechin' wi' the devil.

This is reminiscent of the casting of stones into the fire to choose a victim for sacrifice.

Some of the eighteenth century Scottish charms are described by Burns:

The first ceremony of Hallowe'en is pulling each a stock or plant of kail. They must go out, hand in hand, with eyes shut, and pull the first they meet with. Its being

big or little, straight or crooked, is prophetic of the size and shape of the grand object of all their spells—the husband or wife. . . .

Take a candle and go alone to a looking glass; eat an apple before it, and some traditions say you should comb your hair all the time; the face of your conjugal companion to be will be seen in the glass, as if peeping over your shoulder.

Burns also mentions the sowing of the hemp-seed. 10)

Scottish children believe that if they pile cabbage stalks 'round the doors and windows of the house, the fairies will bring them a new brother or sister. Another prank is the pushing out of the pith of a cabbage stalk, filling it with tow, setting the tow afire and blowing the flame through the keyhole.

Apples and nuts were always prominent in English Hallowe'en celebrations. It is sometimes called Snap-apple Night as well as Nutcrack Night, after the game in which the players attempt to bite an apple revolving on a stick to the other end of which is fastened a lighted candle, a small bag of flour or another instrument of punishment for failure. There are other games with apples, some of which have been preserved almost intact by our children.

Bobbing for apples was popular in England. The stems were removed and the apples placed in a tub of water. If one succeeded in bringing up an apple with the teeth alone then his love affair would end happily. Another charm which has survived involves peeling an apple, all in one piece, and swinging the paring three times around the head. It is then dropped over the left shoulder. If it does not break and is looked at over the shoulder it forms the initial of the true sweetheart's name. Even the seeds of apples were used (and still are). Two of them stuck on cheeks or eyelids indicated the faithfulness or fickleness of friends or lovers by the length of time they clung before falling off. Other charms with apple seeds have been described elsewhere in this paper.

In Wales, at the Hallow Eve supper, parsnips and cakes

were eaten and nuts and apples roasted. There was also ducking and snapping for apples. A form of kail-pulling is practiced in which the leek takes the place of the Scottish cabbage. Since King Cadwallo decorated his soldiers with leeks for their valor in a battle fought by a leek garden, they have been held in high esteem in Wales.

On the eve of All Souls Day, twenty-four hours after Hallowe'en, the children in eastern Wales go from house to house singing, for

"An apple or a pear, a plum or a cherry,
Or any good thing to make us merry."

It is a time when charity is given freely to the poor.

The use of apples and nuts at Hallowe'en derives also from the rites of the Roman goddess, Pomona, which were carried throughout Europe by Caesar's legions. She was one of several embodiments of Ops, the goddess of plenty. Her Latin name, Pomorum Patrona, means patroness of fruits. She had a grove near Ostia where a harvest festival was held about November first. It was preceded in August by a celebration in honor of her husband, Vortumnus. At this Vortumnalia the deities of fire and water were propitiated so that they would be favorably disposed toward the crops and thanks were rendered them for their help in the harvest. An offering of first fruits was made in August; in November the winter's supply of apples and nuts was opened.

Traces of all these ancient and modern rites and customs are visible in our children's Hallowe'en. The Hallowe'en party, to which one must not admit that one has been invited and to which one goes in the guise of an evil spirit, is an unacknowledged version of the witches' sabbath. The decorations carry out the theme with their witches, cats, owls, skeletons and jack-o'-lanterns. The basic color scheme is black and orange, the colors of death and of the harvest, respectively. The menu features apples and nuts plus their modern equivalents of cider and doughnuts. The games are contests of skill in which a penalty is paid for failure, or they are turns of chance which foretell the future. All this takes

place not only with the approval but often with the active participation of the parents. In another section of this paper there are descriptions of some of the more spontaneous and unsupervised activities in which children take part on this night.

E. The Group Psychology of the Hallowe'en Customs

The historical changes and transmutations of the various Hallowe'en customs do not obscure their significance as expressions of important human feelings. On this holiday, as on so many others, the need for a socially acceptable acting-out of unconscious impulses is met by more or less formalized ritualistic observances. It seems to us that the ultimate meaning of the events of Hallowe'en is the same as that of the totem feast and that each of the repetitive practices is related to the great primal drama of the killing and eating of the father by the brother horde in ages past and of the events which grew out of this.

The memory of these events, of course, still exists in the unconscious and still exerts its influence on the behavior of people in groups and in the mass. This is illustrated well by the things we do on Hallowe'en. The symbolic sacrifices, the appeasement of evil spirits, the placating of the dead and the games for foretelling the future all testify to the unconscious feelings of guilt and fear which have survived from that remote time, feelings whose strength and persistence mark them as having had their origin in the most tremendous events. The conclusion is inescapable that these were the murder and cannibal feast described by Freud in *Totem and Taboo* and elsewhere.

Other Hallowe'en characteristics illustrate various phases of the drama. The general license and defiance of authority is in keeping with this spirit. So is the selection of a time which stood for the death of the sun and the end of the year. (We have yet another example of this relationship in our own New Year's Eve celebration).

The products of the harvest are among the sacrifices;

they are also the foods which are eaten at the totem feast. But they have still another significance. The mythological equating of the earth and its bounty with the female is well known (for example, in the figure of Gaea, the Earth Mother). Therefore, the enjoyment of the fruits of the harvest also represents the possession of the women which the brothers achieved by their deed. Subsequently, the fruits and nuts were integrated into other parts of the Hallowe'en observance and their primary meaning somewhat diluted, evidently for greater peace of mind.

The sequel to the bloody deed and the resolution of the conflict was the totem feast. This survived in some of the fire customs, the witches sabbath and the American children's Hallowe'en party. Each in its own way symbolizes man's renunciation of some of his instinctual satisfactions for the sake of being able to live with his fellow man as well as with himself.

Hallowe'en, then, is one of the numerous ways which the race has evolved for allowing repressed material associated with the drama of the primal father to come to the surface in disguised form. As we go back in history, we see behind the children's pranks and games some old European folk observances. Behind these are religious rituals, harvest and sun worship and primitive totem feasts. Finally, we arrive back in the unconscious itself and we are in the presence of the mainsprings of the attempt of all humankind to make its adjustment to the demands of its environment and to live a life as free as possible from inner tensions.

III. Pranks and Games in the Children's Holiday

A. Licensed Delinquency

We have seen, then, that the children's holiday on Hallowe'en preserves the ancient customs with a slavish devotion to detail and manner of execution. But now we must assume that the children have taken over these rites and customs because they are pleasurable and because they fulfill certain unconscious needs.

As a point of departure for this part of our examination, we may take the obvious pleasures of this holiday. Hallowe'en is a night of licensed delinquency and aggression against the parents. On this night stealing, vandalism, messing, fire-making and the interruption of the privacy of the parents is sanctioned. We have already seen that the factor of license, in itself, has tradition behind it since Hallowe'en was originally a new year festival, and in all its customs, in the survivals of revelry, sacrifice, omens and prophecy, has never lost its essential character as a new year's eve.

We should expect, then, at on this night of license, the unconscious desires of children may be given expression. It should be useful to examine a few of these customs in order to see in what manner these unconscious wishes are dramatized.

The costumes in themselves serve an important function. In the tradition of the evil spirits who are abroad this night, the children take on various disguises. And it is in disguise that the children pursue their antics. They have changed their identity and it becomes part of the game that the parents and elders, should pretend that they cannot guess who the child might be, that they should act surprised and even scared at these apparitions. Having lost his identity temporarily, the child is now freed of the surveillance of his own parents and of any criticism from his own super-ego. The ego is not responsible, but the form of the disguise is also of great significance. For on this night the omnipresent bogies of childhood are exorcised. The people of the dreams, the wicked witch, the ghost, the masked man, the fierce animal are brought out into the open and the children assume their forms. This, in fact is one of the classical devices by which the ego defends itself against anxiety. In taking the form of the feared thing, the child need not fear it. It is, of course, identical with the defense mechanism termed by Anna Freud "identification with the aggressor". 11) Further, we know that these bogies of dream and fantasy are none other than the feared parents themselves. So that it

would be proper to say the disguised children are the disguised parents. The costumed children, then, have cast off the restraining effects of the feared parents, and through adopting their disguise are free to indulge their own wishes and aggressive fantasies.

It should be time, then, to explore those traditional acts and pranks of Hallowe'en which are thoughtfully sanctioned by the unseeing parents on this night. In all of these customs and pranks we find a repetition of the theme of aggression against the adult and invasion of the privacy of the adult. To annoy and interrupt the adults, the parents, is the prerogative of the Hallowe'en reveller. On this night even the more retiring ghosts and witches have the right to seek admittance to any house as alms seekers and the cry "A trick or a treat" serves warning on the householder. More aggressive and inventive spirits deal with the sanctity of the home in different fashion. We have mentioned the doorbell nuisances, the garbage pranks, the window breaking and soaping, the thefts of property. We are interested, too, that so much of this aggression is directed toward the house as well as the householder.

In a psychoanalytic study it is necessary for us to regard these acts as symbolic, to begin with the premise that the prank is the acting out of an unconscious wish. In this task, we see no reason to differentiate between prankish stealing, vandalism and acts of aggression and delinquent or criminal acts, so far as unconscious motivation is concerned. Psychoanalysis recognizes also that dreams of normal persons may contain the same criminal motives as the acts of the delinquent. The difference lies not in the nature of the urge but the way in which the ego deals with that urge. For these reasons we shall attempt to investigate the pranks of Hallowe'en through freely borrowing from the analysis of dreams and of specific delinquent acts wherever such borrowing can throw light upon our study.

B. Interruption and Annoyance of the Parents

It should be useful to begin with an exploration of a Hallowe'en motif, the interruption and annoyance of the parents. Almost all of the Hallowe'en pranks have this intent as we see in the doorbell ringing, the window soaping, garbage dumping and other nuisances directed toward the house and the householders.

The unconscious meaning of such pranks we shall take up in some detail later. For the moment it is of some interest to us to pursue the meaning of such acts which are clearly intended to interrupt and annoy the householders. In this connection, we might borrow the insight from an adult dream in which just such a childhood prank played a prominent part.

Before relating this dream, the patient reported that he was very upset and believed he had become impotent. He had had relations two nights previously with a married woman and found it very satisfactory. Afterward, however, he learned that the woman was one month pregnant with her husband's child. He then became panicky and was certain that now he should be impotent. He then gave this dream which occurred the night preceding this interview.

He and two other men engaged in a prank. They sneaked up to a house, "where an old couple lived," threw stones at the house, knocked on the door and ran away. It seemed then that they were being chased. The patient escaped over a fence. He then fell into the mud "or something" and someone said, "You do the same thing every time!"

In associating to the dream the patient remarked that this reminded him of boyish pranks which he engaged in as a youngster. Of his two companions in the dream, he recalled with surprise that each of them was a man for whom he had "fixed up" dates with married women friends in recent weeks. The patient's own frequently expressed preference for relations with married women and his recent experience reported above, makes the dream clear. Here, then, "the old couple" represented the parents, and the prank in which

they threw stones and knocked on the door, was an act which symbolized the wish to gain admittance and interrupt the privacy of the marriage. Behind this, of course, was the wish to possess the mother, the married woman. The three pranksters were grouped together because each had possessed in reality a married woman, had committed a common crime in the symbolic act with the mother. Following the prank we learn, they were chased, which further confirms the oedipal nature of this dream, for typically the oedipal dream ends with the fear of the vengeful father, of being caught by the father. The detail of falling into mud "or something" suggests soiling, which we may take to mean that this fragment was dredged up from the lower regions of the unconscious from a period in childhood when soiling is the appropriate mode of sexual discharge. For our purposes here, it is not necessary to go into the further analysis of this dream, except to mention a last detail. Someone said, "You do this every-time!" This was, of course, the therapist who had been persistent in recent weeks in pointing out to the patient (with these words) that he was repeating in the transference and in his acting out, the wish to replace the husband.

In this dream, then, we find that a typical childhood prank, one which is legalized, however, on Hallowe'en, has the intent of annoying and interrupting the parents and a meaning on a deeper level, that is, the interruption of the sexual activity of the parents. Commonly, when we analyze a dream of the primal scene we find that the listening or observing child becomes aware of his own sexual excitement and is stimulated to fantasies in which he replaces the parent in the act. In this dream in which the patient knocks on the door and runs away with the feeling that he is being chased, we have a vivid portrayal of the oedipal fantasy in which the wish is followed by the anticipated punishment. In the dream cited and in the Hallowe'en prank, the symbolism of the door is significant. For commonly the door symbolizes the female genitalia and "to try to get in" represents the wish for sexual union.

C. The Window Pranks

Still another prank which bears investigation is the custom of breaking and defacing windows on Hallowe'en. Although the breaking of windows is not officially sanctioned by police and property-holders, it is one of the most widespread delinquencies practiced on this night. The soaping and defacing of windows is a tradition which is politely honored, however.

The symbolism of the window has to our knowledge, not been investigated to any extent in psychoanalytic literature. In poetic symbolism we find allusions to the eyes as "the windows of the soul" and elsewhere windows and eyes are used inter-changeably in imagery. In the famous "Wolf Dream" in Freud's "History of the Infantile Neurosis," 12) the patient begins his report by saying, "I dreamt that it was night and that I was lying in my bed. Suddenly the window opened of its own accord, and I was terrified to see that some white wolves were sitting on the big walnut tree in front of the window". . . The patient himself translates, "It must mean: 'My eyes suddenly open'."

The *breaking* of a window, we could then suppose, might fuse the factors "to see" and "an act of aggression." It should be useful to explore this on the basis of case data in which the wish to break a window or the breaking of a window can be analyzed.

A six-year-old boy has shown in treatment his preoccupation with the sexual life of his parents. His theory is that they do something forbidden like his own masturbation. Following discussion of his own masturbation, he tentatively brings out the fact that his mummy and his daddy "they play with themselves." However, he refuses to acknowledge the factor of sexual union and vehemently proclaims, "my Mommy, she don't do it!" In an interview of this period he invites the therapist to "play possum" with him. He is to pretend that he is asleep, he explains, "only I ain't". He then manufactures snores and stealthily climbs out of his "bed," and peers forth from behind the slatted back of a

chair. Now the therapist as mother was ordered to look for him, whereupon he stealthily climbed back into bed and resumed his snoring. A moment later he left his drama, picked up a rubber ball and began bouncing it. Suddenly he says, "*Supposin' I was to smash that window!*" There was no real intent in his voice, however. Then he came over to a chair near the therapist's desk and was silent for several moments. At last he said thoughtfully, "You know, my Mom,—she wrestles in bed. She makes a lot of noise and the bed goes squeak squeak squeak. I can hear it."

In this juxtaposition of ideas we can see clearly how the observation of parental coitus is interpreted as an act of aggression, "wrestling", and how the interpolated wish "to break a window" is a condensation of the two ideas "to see" and "an act of violence." Further, "*supposin' I was to smash that window*" suggests his own aggressive wish to replace the father, to do what he has seen.

Even more striking is the following illustration: An eight-year-old boy with no history of delinquency was arrested one day following his window breaking orgy in the neighborhood. His mother, a patient in treatment in a social agency, arrives at the agency the same day, weighted down with her child's arrest and a confession which she must make. The night before, she said, she and her lover had engaged in intercourse on the sofa. She had left the door to the boy's room "accidentally ajar." Following the act, she went to the bathroom and saw that the door to the boy's room was closed and remembered then, that she had left it slightly open. She knew then that the child might have witnessed the act. She was correct, for the child was later able to relate to a caseworker what he had seen. But what is of interest to us here, is that the child's destructive orgy should have followed his observations of the night before, and that these acts should have taken the form of breaking windows. As in the previous case, all of this suggests that the child's window breaking was an act of violence in which he repeats in the symbolic act what he has seen, and fulfills the for-

bidden wishes which he had entertained as he watched his mother and her lover. It may be suggested further that the breaking of the window also symbolizes the aggressive act against his own eyes for seeing. That is, "to put out the window" is equated with "to put out the eye," or castration.

Freud's history of Little Hans contains still another allusion to the breaking of windows in a similar context.¹³⁾ Following the visit to Freud's office the father reports, "After we returned from our visit to you . . . Hans confessed to yet another little bit of craving to do something forbidden: "I say, I thought of something this morning again." "What?" "I went with you on the train, and we smashed a window, and a policeman took us off with him." This bit of information, it will be recalled followed the visit in which Freud had interpreted to Hans that he was afraid of his father precisely because he was so fond of his mother. Freud's own interpretation of Hans' statement about the father breaking a window with him was on the basis that his father did that forbidden thing (took possession of the mother) which he, himself, longed to do, and this was replaced by the fantasy of an act of violence, "such as smashing a window pane or forcing a way into an enclosed space." Freud did not comment on the symbolism of the window itself but brings our attention to another feature of the symbol, i.e., forcing a way into an enclosed space. It should be noted that in the case of Hans, too, there was ample evidence in the material that he had observed coitus between the parents. Here, again we might suggest that the factor of *seeing* is introduced into the symbolic act of breaking a window.

To return now to our other task of penetrating the meaning of window soaping and defacement on Hallowe'en, it appears to us that the symbolism of the window must be taken into account in our analysis of this prank. If, as we have seen, the window represents the eye, and of the acts of seeing or spying, then a defacement of the window, dirtying of the window, must be equated with the idea "to see

something dirty." It should be further noted that usually obscenities are scrawled on the windows, among them commonly, the word "fuck".

If we relate these acts of window breaking and defacement to our earlier discussion of the pranks and acts to gain entrance to the house, or to disturb the parents, we are struck by an obvious relationship. In the window symbolism, we see the unconscious meaning "to observe the parents" and in the pranks mentioned earlier, the intent "to interrupt the parents."

D. "Gifts at the Doorstep"

Still another prank demands investigation, namely the Hallowe'en practice of dumping heaps of garbage at the doorstep or inside the hallways of houses. Tidier ghosts sometimes wrap the garbage in neat packages with ribbon, which are then left upon the doorstep following an urgent bell ringing. The symbolic equation of garbage with faeces, leaves no doubt as to the nature of this gift. We might cite here, too, the practice mentioned earlier, of smearing faeces on the door by certain uncompromising spirits.

In all these acts then, we see defiance coupled with the base humor of anal sadism, "here is a lovely gift for you!" But our investigation should not end here. For there is a Hallowe'en custom in Scotland which is in some ways similar, and may serve to shed additional light on the problem.

William S. Walsh, author of *Curiosities of Popular Custom* is quoted in one of our sources on this point. This fragment of Victorian prose is quoted intact:

"But the most singular of all beliefs in Scotland regarding the cabbage stalk is confined to the minds of very young children, though it is so peculiarly a tender delusion that the guidwife holds it in respect to her dying day. The idea is universal in among the little folks in the Land o' Cakes that where a brother or sister appears in the household it has come through fairy aid, from the roots of the cabbage stalk. So that when all the bairns of Scotland are singing, however mad and

merry all their games, they never lay their joy weary heads upon their pillows until with their own hands they have laid generous piles of 'kail runts' (cabbage stalks) against the door sill and window ledge, so that the gracious and kindly fairies of blessed Hallowe'en night shall set free at least one baby soul from the roots and mould, and the household shall not fail of welcoming another tiny bairn within the coming year." 14)

Being of a coarser nature than this scribe, we were immediately impressed by such unwarranted tenderness on the part of little bairns. When we encountered other uses for cabbages on Hallowe'en we were satisfied at last that the children of Scotland shared a universal ambivalence toward younger and unborn children, and a universal suspicion of the cabbage theory. For, as previously mentioned, it was also the delight of Scotch children on Haloween to remove the pith from a cabbage stalk and fill it with tow in order to set it on fire and blow flames through the keyholes. We cannot but admire the Scotch children for this improved version of their parents' cabbage tale, and for their lack of sentimentality in stating the facts of life in this striking, symbolic fashion.

But to return to the cabbages and fairies. We found that our whimsical writer of the bairns "who laid generous piles" of cabbage stalks at the door, was a forgetful fellow who had written only a few lines earlier, still another account of the laying of cabbages at the door, a variation on the theme which has some attraction for us:

"If on Hallowe'en," he writes further of Scotland, "a farmer's or crofter's kail yard still contains ungathered cabbages, the boys and girls of the neighborhood descend upon it en masse, and the entire crop is harvested in five minutes time and thumped against the owner's doors, which rattle as though pounded by a thunderous tempest."

It appears then that the "tenderness" with which the bairns laid the cabbages at the door, may be under dispute. In the last case, any fairies who survived this onslaught

would have been in impaired health for their traditional employment in the coming year.

In these Hallowe'en pranks of the Scotch children we find a fusion of several ideas. The cabbage as "baby" is presented to the parents in mockery and in the form of an aggressive act. The use of the cabbage also for blowing fire through the keyhole is, of course, a symbolic representation of the act of coitus. The "thumping" of the cabbages against the door, "so the whole house rattles" belongs to the child's conception of the sexual act and the noises which accompany it, plus the knowledge of the relationship of this act to the bringing forth of a baby (cabbage).

This Scottish custom is not so far, then, from the gift of American children, which is laid with a spurious tenderness at the doorways of their elders. The present of garbage, sometimes gift wrapped, sometimes not, has been equated with faeces, but must also be seen in terms of the symbolic equation of faeces and baby.

It appears then that the "gift" of garbage and cabbage at Hallowe'en bears an intimate relationship to those other pranks of that holiday which we have already analyzed.

As an aside we might cite still another symbol of Hallowe'en which seems to belong in this context. The pumpkin is traditional as the symbol of harvest and of Hallowe'en. In jokes and colloquialisms, we find reference to the belly of the pregnant woman as her "pumpkin" and in the sexual theories of small children we find the notion that the mother swallowed a pumpkin seed (also watermelon seed) and it grew and grew until it became a baby. "Little pumpkin" is also a familiar term of endearment for a baby or small child. In the following "Hallowe'en story" invented by a six-year old girl, the symbolism is seen clearly. She says, "once there was a pumpkin and he was very very little. He was much too little to come out for Hallowe'en and he was very sad. So a fairy godmother came and she said, 'what do you wish most of all?' And the little pumpkin said, 'Oh, make me big so I can come out on Hallowe'en!' And the fairy godmother

waved her wand and the pumpkin got bigger and bigger 'til he was big enough to come out and he did and he went out with the children for Hallowe'en and he was very happy." In this story the therapist could easily identify her own explanation of foetal development to the child a few days earlier. ("It is very very small and it grows bigger and bigger until it is big enough to come out"). The child's story was given a few weeks before Hallowe'en during a time when the child was much pre-occupied with the thought that her mother was going to have a baby because she had been ill and in bed.

E. Stealing

The last of the major group of sanctioned mischief and vices on Hallowe'en has to do with stealing. Wherever Hallowe'en is celebrated in the great tradition, the wary householder stores all portable outdoor equipment. Even so the spirits can get away with unsuspected booty and in rural parts of the country especially gates have a way of disappearing. This last, incidentally, has tradition behind it, for in England in earlier days, it was said that on Hallowe'en the evil spirits abroad would carry the gates away with them. This particular addiction on the part of evil spirits may have been only a handy cover-up for youthful delinquents but the custom persists to this day. In America the stealing of automobile parts, hub-caps, radiator caps, etc., is a popular activity on Hallowe'en.

The unconscious significance of stealing has been widely investigated in psychoanalysis. There is little need to go into the subject further except to point out a few pertinent facts in relation to our subject matter. We recognize in stealing an act of aggression against authority with the manifest content, "to take possession of" a forbidden object. In the unconscious, we find that the forbidden object is frequently the mother or the penis of the father which is envied by the small child. "To take possession of" then has a sexual meaning on the unconscious level.

In the prankish stealing of Hallowe'en we have no reason to interpret these acts differently. On this night of license stealing is permitted, which is to say we give access to the forbidden object. The unconscious oedipal wishes are given expression through the removal of sanctions.

In more sublimated form, we may see the same incestuous motives at work in certain of the traditional Hallowe'en games. In the many variations of the apple contests we perceive common elements. In "bobbing for apples" the group of contestants attempt to retrieve apples with their teeth from a tub of water, their hands tied behind them. In a variation the apples are strung up with cord and the contestants, again with hands tied, attempt to bite into one of the swinging apples. Of course the one who is first to bite the apple is the winner. In mythology the apple stands for the woman, or the woman's breast. Familiarly in the myth of Adam and Eve, to eat of the apple, of the forbidden fruit, represented the act of taking possession of the forbidden woman, the mother. In the apple games, the hands must be tied, that is, a prohibition against touching is a condition to the game. The pleasure of the contest obtains from the fact that the object may be taken while the taboo is strictly maintained. If we substitute for the game rules the unconscious equation we have a contest for the mother which is made difficult or impossible because of the taboo against touching or possession. The game illustrates how the dilemma is solved. The taboo against touching with the hands is kept but the object is secured with the mouth. Here, then, we see a regression to the oral level, to the primary relationship with the mother. The phallic strivings are relinquished in observance of the taboo and possession of the mother is made possible through a return to the oral level.

F. Summary

As we review these pranks and customs of Hallowe'en it is immediately apparent that there is a unity, an interrelation of all these observances. In each case, we have seen

how these acts obtain their pleasurable character through the representation of those universal wishes of the oedipal phase. The taboos are lifted on this night and the dark streets become a theater for the pageantry of an ancient drama. The children disguised as bogies, as the people of the bad dreams, are given license by their parents for this night only. In the typical pranks we have discerned the re-enactment of oedipal fantasies. In the pranks to gain admittance to the house, to interrupt and annoy the parents, we have seen the child's wish to interrupt the sexual activity of the parents. In the window breaking and defacement we have interpreted the observation of the parents, "to see an act of violence," "to commit an act of violence," and "to see something dirty," coupled with the aggressive and destructive wishes of the child toward the father. The practice of leaving "gifts" of garbage (and in Scotland cabbages) at the doorstep reveals the unconscious equation of faeces and baby, to give a baby to the mother. In the stealing pranks, we see the act of taking possession of a forbidden object which has the unconscious meaning of stealing the mother or the penis of the father. The unity of these acts is the unity of those strivings of the oedipus complex, the wish of the small boy to supplant the father, to take possession of the mother and to have a baby with her.

IV. The Factor of License

We have traced the customs and lore of Hallowe'en from the sacrificial rites of the ancient Druids to the practices of a children's holiday in present-day America. We have seen how certain of these customs have survived intact in the games, pranks and masquerade of the children's holiday. It is evident, too, that not only have the forms and the manifestations of these ancient beliefs been preserved, but their unconscious meaning as well. In our investigation of the unconscious meaning of the pranks and games of the children's Hallowe'en we have seen the re-enactment of the familiar drama of the oedipus complex. In our analysis of

the ancient rites of Hallowe'en we find the meaning of sacrifice and atonement for the murder of the father, the primeval source of the oedipus complex. In our further study, we encounter another feature of the Hallowe'en observances which appears at first glance to be more characteristic of the present-day children's holiday than in the recorded history of Hallowe'en observances. This is the factor of license which gives to the children's holiday the character of a new year's eve. Frazer points out that in almost all cultures there are such periods of license preceding or coinciding with the new year, a casting off of restraints, a last fling, prior to a day of religious observance and atonement. Since Hallowe'en was originally a new year's eve, it is not difficult to trace the idea of license here.

When we pursue the theme of sacrifice to its source in the idea of atonement for the murder of the father, the factor of license obtains a richer meaning. For the murder of the father was at once the act which liberated the sons from restraining authority and gave access to the women. The linking of these two factors may be perceived at all times to the present, in war and in other acts of group violence, the killing of the enemy, the king, the leader, is accompanied by sexual orgies. Freud, in reconstructing the history of the primal horde, concluded that following a period of license and of inevitable quarreling and violence among the brothers, certain events brought about guilt for the murder of the father and eventually atonement through sacrifice. Therefore, we may reconstruct that in the earlier history of Hallowe'en the sacrifices of the fire festival were part of a drama in which the murder of the father was atoned through the sacrificial murder of the son, and that a period of license may have preceded the act of atonement, recapitulating the historical events.

But then we ask how does it happen that the period of license is lost in the later observances of Hallowe'en? The ideas of sacrifice, and atonement have been faithfully preserved while the idea of license can only be glimpsed here

and there as in the Scottish children's customs. We may offer the hypothesis that the period of license, which in other fire-festivals included sexual orgies and revels, succumbed to the bans of the Church. The idea of sacrifice and atonement resisted the influence of the Church, as we know, and eventually the Hallowe'en bonfires were merged with All Saints Day and the fires were said to light the souls through purgatory.

We know that such customs do not disappear without leaving traces. Especially in the case of instinctual pleasures the repressive forces of society do not succeed in driving under and obliterating the powerful urge. "The repressed returns!" Freud has shown us in the history of the individual and society. We see this in the celebration of Hallowe'en by American children, today, where the factor of license is restored in the celebration of Hallowe'en along with all of the carefully preserved customs and rites of sacrifice and atonement.

But it is not only in America that the children are granted license on this night. We recall that the pranks of the Scottish children have a long tradition behind them. In our meager source material, we have not found in other countries such a license for the children on Hallowe'en. It may be that in other Celtic countries such customs exist. At least in Scotland and America, then, the repressed feature of Hallowe'en has been preserved by the children in their licensed delinquency.

Is there another holiday in which the elders license the delinquency of the children? Far afield, in the feast of Passover (Pesach) there is a custom which merits our attention. At the end of the reading of the Haggodah at the ritual feast there is a theft by the children. The father has hidden a piece of matzoth. At this point of the ceremony the children sneak up to the father's place at the head of the table. Father pretends not to notice the approach of the thieves. He continues his reading of the text with pious intonation, or he may converse earnestly with his neighbor at the table. Suddenly he rises in horror. The matzoth is gone! Who has

stolen it? The children with innocent faces regard the father. The father, acting the role of a man who has been outwitted and is now left with no choice, asks that the thief make himself known so that the father may redeem his matzoth with cash. The thief reveals himself, the father gives him a coin and the matzoth is returned.

What is the place of this theft in a religious observance which has to do with the exodus of the Jews from Egypt? We must remember that Pesach was originally a new year festival corresponding to the Babylonian new year in Nisan. It was much later in the history of the Jewish people that the feast of matzoth merged with this earlier celebration. The name Pesach comes from a Hebrew root meaning "to dance with a limp" which reveals its origins in a special ritual dance connected with Baal worship. We recognize in many of the rituals of the Passover feast the relics of archaic time. There is the slaughter of an animal, the smearing of the animal's blood on the gate-posts to ward off evil, the sacrificial meal, the ritual dance. In this respect the feast resembles the New Year festivals of other peoples. W. O. E. Oesterley holds the view shared by other experts that the sacrifice was an offering to the moon-god, a fertility deity.¹⁵⁾

In the fertility rites of many peoples, and in particular the celebration of a new year, we see the theme of abandonment, revelry and license. In the Hebrew celebration of Pesach more than a trace of this idea remains in the prescription of the law that this is a joyful holiday and that ordinary restraints may be cast off. We might suggest that the game of the matzoth stealing is a survival of earlier practices in the celebration of the ancient new year festival. "To steal from the father" as we know, has the unconscious meaning, "to take possession of" the penis or the mother. This suggests that in the earliest days of this new year festival and its fertility rites, there was a period of license similar to that of other peoples with free access to the women and a usurping of the father's powers. The Roman Saturnalia provides the best examples of this in historic time when, as

we know, at the time of the new year, master and slave exchanged places and a period of drunken revels and sexual license preceded the ushering in of the new year.

It is well known that in our own times the "wild parties" of new year's eve permit a free access to women including the wives of other men. Less obvious is the deposition of the father in election day early in November. This practice comes to us from England where for centuries the election of the mayors and aldermen took place on November 1, the day of the Druidic new year.

It is tempting to pursue these thoughts further but we are in danger of wandering afield. Let us return to the theme of the granting of license to the children.

We see how "the repressed" has returned in the form of a game or a prank which is granted by the elders to the children. In the Hallowe'en pranks and in the Pesach prank an archaic remnant re-appears and in play the children re-enact the pagan rites which were abandoned by their ancestors under pressure of a new morality.

V. Recapitulation

The children's holiday, Hallowe'en, has preserved with faithful accuracy the customs and rituals of the archaic new year's festival both with regard to the rites of sacrifice and atonement and the traditional license of the new year's eve. The study of the games, pranks and masquerade of the children's holiday reveals how the past is preserved in the museum of childhood. Nothing is lost by these exacting museum keepers. A study of their games and magical beliefs should yield a treasury of information about the earliest religion and beliefs of mankind.

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Betty M. and the Seven Dwarfs: A Contrapuntal, Essay On Raynaud's Disease*

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Once upon a time in the middle of the winter, when snowflakes were falling like feathers from the sky, a Queen sat at her window working, and her embroidery frame was of ebony. And as she worked, gazing at times out on the snow, she pricked her finger, and there fell from it three drops of blood on the snow. And when she saw how bright and red it looked, she said to herself, "Oh that I had a child as white as snow, as red as blood, and as black as the wood of the embroidery frame!" Not very long afterwards she had a daughter, with a skin as white as snow, lips as red as blood, and hair as black as ebony, and she was named Snow White. And when she was born the Queen died.

In 1933, toward the early part of the winter, 22 year old Mrs. Betty M. sat at her place of employment sewing. And as she sewed she pricked her finger with a needle. Only a few months before this happening she had given birth to a son who died five hours later. The finger became infected and it became necessary to amputate the end of it. She was told she had Raynaud's disease. Five years later Betty had another son who lived. One month after his birth, while changing his diaper, Betty again pricked her finger, this time on the left hand, and again an infection set in.

After a year had gone by, the King took another wife, a beautiful woman, but proud and overbearing, and she could not bear to be surpassed in beauty by anyone. She had a magic looking glass and she used to stand before it and look in it and say:

*"Looking glass upon the wall
Who is fairest of us all?"
And the looking glass would answer:
"You are fairest of them all."
And she was contented, for she knew that the
looking glass spoke the truth.*

When Betty was two and her brother John was six months old their father was killed in a railway accident. Not long after their mother remarried and had several more children. Betty said her mother was a very cold and selfish woman who dominated and crushed everyone in the family including her husband. "No one could live with her", said Betty: "everyone is afraid of her. She used to beat us for the slightest thing and never let us sit in the parlour because we would make it untidy. We had to stay in the kitchen. She never showed us any affection or love." At 14 Betty went to work as a maid. Her mother took all her earnings until Betty was 19, when persuaded by a friend that being a waitress was better than being a maid, Betty ran away from home and secured a job waiting on tables. Her mother found her and Betty returned home, but she kept her job, lied to her mother about her earnings and secretly kept some of them so that she could buy herself some nice clothes.

Now Snow White was getting prettier and prettier and when she was seven years old she was as beautiful as day, far more so than the Queen herself. So one day when the Queen went to the mirror and said:

*"Looking glass upon the wall,
Who is fairest of us all?"*

It answered:

*"Queen, you are full fair, 'tis true,
But Snow White fairer is than you."*

This gave the Queen a great shock, and she became yellow and green with envy, and from that hour her heart turned against Snow White and she hated her.

When Betty failed to menstruate by the age of 27 she consulted a doctor who told her she ought to have an operation on her hymen. Her mother refused to allow this, how-

ever, since Betty would no longer look like a virgin. After another year, when she was 18, Betty did have such an operation after which her periods occurred regularly. The doctor gave her a paper to explain why her hymen was ruptured. During the same year, while hanging clothes on the line during the cold weather, her fingers got "frostbitten." After that she noticed that her fingers and later her toes would get painful in the cold weather.

(Meanwhile the Queen became more and more hateful toward Snow White). At last she sent for a huntsman and said, "Take the child out into the woods, so that I may set eyes on her no more. You must put her to death and bring me her heart for a token."

The huntsman consented and led her away. (But Snow White pleaded with him to spare her life, saying) "Oh dear huntsman, do not take my life. I will go away into the wild-wood and never come home again."

At the age of 22 Betty married. Looking back on the marriage she said, "I really only got married in order to get away from my mother, I guess."

(Well, the huntsman took pity on her, and killed a wild boar instead, bringing the heart to the Queen, who salted and cooked it and then ate it up, thinking that that was the end of Snow White).

A few months after she had pricked her finger for the second time Betty entered The Mount Sinai Hospital where she underwent a bilateral thoracic sympathectomy. However, this didn't seem to help her very much for with the next spell of cold weather her fingers and toes became white and painful just as before.

(The next part of the story of Snow White relates how she ran through the forests over sharp stones and through the thorn bushes until she found a little house where lived the Seven Dwarfs. They were very good to her and she kept house for them. They warned her to beware of her step-mother. Meanwhile the Queen addressing her mirror again learned that Snow White was still alive. And she thought

and thought how she could manage to make an end of her. Finally, disguised as an old peddler, she visited Snow White and sold her some pretty lace). "What a figure you are, child!" said the old woman. "Come and let me lace your bodice properly for once." . . The old woman laced so quickly and tightly that it took Snow White's breath away and she fell down as dead. "Now you are no longer the fairest," said the old woman as she hastened away. . (Soon the dwarfs returned and seeing Snow White lying on the ground, cut the tightly drawn lace in two. Then she began to breathe, and little by little she returned to life).

Two years after the birth of her son Betty was admitted to Bellevue Hospital where an ovarian cyst and the appendix were removed. In the same year she suffered a severe burn through scalding on her leg. During the next year a cholecystectomy was performed. The year after the uterus was removed.

(When the Queen on consulting her mirror discovered that Snow White was still alive, she again visited her in disguise and sold her a poisoned comb. No sooner was the comb put in her hair than the poison began to work and the poor girl fell down senseless).

During the next two years there were no operations but three years after the hysterectomy Betty skidded while driving a car and suffered severe lacerations about the head and face, leaving a permanent scar across the bridge of her nose.

(Of course Snow White was revived again by the Dwarfs, but the Queen now presented her with a half red, half white apple which was poisoned. No sooner had Snow White eaten a morsel of the red and poisoned half than she fell to earth as if dead).

By now Betty's abdominal symptoms were thought to be due to a stomach ulcer. Accordingly a sub-total gastrectomy was performed, despite which, she continued to have stomach complaints especially if she was nervous. Since this operation no further major surgery has been performed. However, in the fall of 1949, she did require a further amputation of her finger which was performed at The Mount Sinai Hospital.

(Now in the story the Dwarfs refused to bury Snow White and kept her in a glass coffin. A prince fell in love with her and while her coffin was being carried, the jarring of it caused the poisoned piece of apple to fly out of her mouth. Snow White and the prince got married and the wicked step-mother was obliged to dance at the wedding in red-hot iron shoes until she fell dead).

Betty's nuptials turned out less felicitously. She had been told by friends that her fiance indulged in periodic alcoholic bouts, but she refused to believe them. Unfortunately it was quite true. He became particularly drunk when she went into labor at the conclusion of her two pregnancies. He was at times abusive and irresponsible, spent most of their money on liquor and finally had to be placed in a mental hospital where he was confined for three years. Betty planned to divorce him, but he joined the Alcoholics Anonymous group and stopped drinking. Although now no longer concerned about his alcoholism, Betty is nervous and tense. She becomes "hot" and anxious in crowds and especially at parties, where she fears she will "pass out". She sleeps poorly and is subject to anxiety sensations while lying in bed. Her sexual life is and always has been quite meaningless to her. Though pretending to enjoy coitus she is entirely frigid.

In order to avoid the ill effects of cold weather on her hands, doctors have repeatedly advised her to go to Florida during the last eleven winters but she has always put it off. Although she said about her mother, "I'm the only one she couldn't dominate," she added, "I've always lacked the nerve to run away from home. I guess I'm afraid of adventure." Unable to endure his wife her step-father now lives with Betty, who avers that her mother has wrecked both the marriages and lives of most of the family. Her brother John is in the process of getting a divorce. A half sister is divorced and her son lives with Betty's mother. The furniture in the latter's house is said to belong to the children whose marriages have gone on the rocks. Her mother is cold and avaricious, exacting payment for everything, including meals. A

week-end spent with her son and husband at her mother's house is like a week-end at a boarding house: the price of everything is calculated and paid for. Her mother, she declared, was always like that: "It was always 'Pay me for this' and 'pay me for that.' "

To her chagrin, however, Betty said she sometimes found herself acting very like her mother. "To my son I'm not very lovable. I'm like my mother—cold. I try to be good to him—he's a moosher—but sometimes I sound just like her. I say to him 'Now go out and get this or that, and see that you're back in ten minutes and no later!'"

* * * * *

One striking feature of Betty's story—gathered in three short interviews—is the amount of physical mutilation endured by her. In addition to the painful symptoms associated with the Raynaud's disease she has experienced the following:

Hymenectomy

Three amputation operations on the right index finger

Bilateral thoracic sympathectomy

Appendectomy and removal of ovarian cyst

Burn on leg

Cholecystectomy

Hysterectomy

Lacerations of the head and face due to auto accident

This comprises a total of ten operations and two accidents with a removal of parts of seven organs. In addition she twice pricked her finger with dire consequences. It is further noteworthy that all of the operations (save the hymenectomy) and all of the accidents occurred after she attained the status of motherhood. Moreover, whereas the first pregnancy resulting in a neo-natal death was followed by two amputation procedures on a finger, it was after the second and viable pregnancy that all of the major operations and accidents occurred. With the attainment of a "permanent" state of motherhood Betty had given up most of one finger, a good part of her sympathetic nervous system, one ovary, her appendix, her gall bladder, her uterus, and part of her stomach. She had also been permanently scarred on

the face. With the anticipated progression of the Raynaud's syndrome she faces the prospect of a further sacrifice of additional digits. In addition to giving the impression that she is paying a huge price for attaining motherhood, Betty appears not to have overindulged herself in expressing her womanly prerogatives: menstruation is delayed until the age of 18; she loses her first child, gives up an ovary and the uterus after the birth of the second, and is sexually unenjoyed and dead. The picture is one of systematic dismemberment, a sort of organ scuttling with particular emphasis on feminine functioning.

That skin temperature and circulation may be markedly altered by emotional factors has been repeatedly demonstrated. Mittelmann and Wolff (1) showed that induced emotional stress may be accompanied by a drop in skin temperature of the fingers of as much as 13.5° C. They indicated, moreover, that in a patient with Raynaud's syndrome an induced emotional state could precipitate attacks of pain and cyanosis of the fingers in a temperature environment which in itself produced no attacks. They concluded that the degree of discomfort in the condition was the resultant of the interplay between the factors of emotional stress and environmental temperature. In a later study 2) in which skin temperatures were recorded continuously during psychoanalytic interviews, these same observers noted that a fall in finger temperature accompanied states of anxiety, anger, embarrassment, humiliation, joy with anxiety, depression with hostility, guilt, fear of abandonment and conflict over the use of the hands for aggressive or sexual purposes. At times they found the fall in temperature to be greater when the patient was not aware of an evident emotional disturbance than when such feelings were consciously recognized. During the sexual excitement finger temperature rose above control levels.

Mufson 3) reached similar conclusions, stating that in Raynaud's disease there is a great exaggeration of the normal vasoconstrictor responses of the minute vessels to two stimuli, cold and fear. Lipkin and his co-workers 4) obtained ex-

cellent results in the majority of nine patients with vasospastic disorders treated with suggestion alone. Weiss 5) described a case of severe peripheral vasospasm, which, resistant to a variety of therapeutic measures over a period of six months, was entirely cured after one week of psychotherapy. His patient was a 28 year old married soldier, who under hypnosis revealed that his illness followed upon his wife's informing him that an adjutant of his organization was making advances to her. Weiss concluded that the vasospasm which occurred in the hands and feet was the physiological concomitant of repressed hostility in those organs which, had his rage been expressed, would have been utilized aggressively.

In view of our emphasis in Betty's case on her tendency to self-injury and to a sacrifice of normal feminine achievement, it is interesting to note in Mufson's paper 3) a description of two cases of Raynaud's syndrome observed by him on a maternity service. In both instances the Raynaud's phenomena occurred incidental to the pregnancy and disappeared upon its termination. One woman, who had a fibroid tumor of the uterus, expressed great anxiety concerning her chances of survival during delivery. A second woman, who had fallen heavily to the ground during the pregnancy, became progressively anxious as term approached as to whether the fetus was deformed as a result of her fall. She begged to have the delivery hastened. The author added, "To her, seeing was believing and reassurance was of no value." He cites another case in which changes in the fingers characteristic of Raynaud's disease followed upon the birth of a first child. Similar symptoms began in another woman following an automobile accident which resulted in a miscarriage. He described also an unfortunate Raynaud's sufferer who was subject to daily scoldings by her husband. The latter was admonished on the effect of this treatment upon her fingers. In vain, the patient held up her ulcerated digits to show him what he was doing to her. Then she wore ear stoppers in order to avoid hearing his torments, but he

responded to this by changing his verbal abuse into beatings.

Immediately prior to the development of Raynaud's symptoms one of the patients described by Lipkin et al. 4), a woman of 37, had had a curetage, supravaginal hysterectomy, amputation of the cervix for fibroids, an appendectomy, and a breast abscess. A somewhat similar propensity for suffering was exhibited in one case mentioned by Mittelmann and Wolff 1). This patient, who reacted to the onset of menses with shock and fright, at 16 married a man who beat her. She attributed a tubal pregnancy to his having kicked her in the stomach. Divorced from him she married another man who also maltreated her. As a result "she became frigid and refused intercourse."

In reviewing this material as well as Betty's history I was reminded of the many fairy tales in which are depicted questions of fertility and life, sterility and death. For example in "The Sleeping Beauty," the king and queen, childless for many years, used to sigh every day, "If only we had a child!" One day, while bathing, the queen is told by a frog that she will have a daughter. When the latter is born there is great rejoicing, but since the king owned but twelve golden plates, he could invite to the feast only twelve of the thirteen fairies of the kingdom. Enraged at the snub, the thirteenth appears at the banquet and curses the new-born child, declaring that she will die in her fifteenth year. Again in the story "Rapunzel," after years of sterility a couple is expecting a child. The wife's capricious appetite, however, induces her husband to steal some rampion from the garden of a witch who lives nearby. Discovering the theft the latter agrees to furnish more of the plant provided that the child be given to her when it is born. This theme—prolonged sterility, fulfillment of a wish for a child, loss of the child—is sometimes replaced by a variation—birth of child, death of mother, as in "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs." In either version the pattern symbolizes a prohibition of pregnancy or motherhood, manifested by sterility, death of the

child or death of the mother, all of which are caused by the malice of an evil spiteful woman.

Fairy tales deal neatly with the ambivalence of a girl toward her mother by employing the device of the good real mother who is loved, and the wicked step-mother, mother-in-law, witch, bad fairy, etc. who is hated. Our knowledge of human psychologic mechanisms, however, reveals that these two types are actually a single individual—the ambivalently regarded mother. The evil woman, therefore, who interferes with her daughter's maturation and fecundity, is none other than the mother herself.

Now while Betty's mother was her real mother, the description of her by her daughter resembled a composite of all the bad step-mothers and witches in Grimm. The bit about being kept out of the parlour and being forced to stay in the kitchen was straight out of "Cinderella". Her account of her mother's treatment of herself and her brother was a paraphrase of "Haensel and Gretel." She resented the fact that her mother was more concerned in her having an anatomically intact hymen than in her being still amenorrheic at 18 years of age. From the time of her beginning menstruation, however, Betty appeared to be applying to herself all of the many tortures and punishments which in the fairy tales are meted out by an evil woman. Instead of relying on the curses and spells of a witch to destroy her or her child, Betty quite unaided succeeded in losing a child and seven organs of her body, ending up in a state of permanent sterility. In psychoanalytic terms it would appear as if the evil witch has been introjected and is now "operating" from within as a masochistic drive. Betty actually referred to such a process when she declared, how, much to her regret, she found herself displaying some of her mother's most hated traits. (Moreover, unlike the Prince in the story, Betty's alcoholic husband turned out to be as opposed to her having children as the wicked step-mother usually is).

Of special interest is the finger pricking phenomenon which occurs both in the fairy tale "Snow White" and in

our case history. In the former three drops of blood fall on the snow. Betty too pricked her finger in winter weather. What is the meaning of this happening?

In the "Sleeping Beauty" story the revengeful thirteenth fairy decreed that in her fifteenth year Briar Rose would prick her finger on a distaff and fall down dead, a fate which was later modified to one hundred years' sleep by the twelfth fairy, who fortunately had not yet wished anything. The age fifteen might easily refer to the menarche or to defloration or both, either of which would be indicative of sexual maturity and consequently a source of rivalry between mother and daughter. In "Snow White" the bleeding would seem to mean coitus especially since within a short time after the "prick" was received a child is born. The number of drops of blood—three—is a male genital symbol. Similarly on the day she pricked her finger, the 15 year old Briar Rose was wandering about the castle when "she came to an old tower. She ascended a narrow winding staircase and reached a little door. A rusty key was sticking in the lock, and when she turned it the door flew open." The symbolism here in terms of phallus, erection, vagina etc. is familiar and transparent. In a little room sat an old woman spinning (the mother again). When the Princess took the spindle and tried to spin, she pricked her finger, fell upon a bed and went into a deep sleep that lasted one hundred years.

Betty's delayed menses were finally initiated at the age of 18 by a surgical procedure on the hymen, resulting in a release of blood—a planned scientific pricking.* While not constituting coitus, the operation did initiate adult feminine physiological activity and as such served as a prelude to sexuality and pregnancy. The pricking of her finger on two occasions occurred in close relation to the birth of children. Whether these accidents represented sexual gratification or punishment or both must, in the absence of any psychologic data, remain a matter of speculation.

*A vulgar riddle: "Why is a virgin like a balloon?—One prick and it's gone".

During the same year when the operation on the hymen was performed Betty's fingers became "frostbitten" while hanging clothes on the line. Not long thereafter she began to display symptoms characteristic of Raynaud's disease, namely, pain and marked blanching of the finger tips in cold weather. This association of *cold* and *white* recalls the name of our fairy tale: "Snow White," who was born after blood from her mother's finger dropped on the snow. (In the Walt Disney version the drops of blood fall on "snow white linen!") "*White*" includes among its several symbolic meanings chastity, innocence and death. The idea of *snow* carries similar connotations ("pure as the driven snow") plus the element of frigidity or lack of passion, i.e. goodness. Thus in the story "Snow White and Rose Red," the former is described as more quiet and gentler than her sister Rose Red, and at the end of the story it is Snow White who marries the Prince, the hero of the story, while Rose Red marries his brother, who is mentioned for the first time in the last paragraph of the story.

The symptoms of Raynaud's disease manifest themselves as "cold-white" phenomena, resulting occasionally in necrosis, a local death analogous to the total death which befell the mother of Snow White and Briar Rose after their prickings. But Betty's coldness is not limited to her fingers. By her own admission she is a cold person, sexually and generally. About her feelings during intercourse she said, "I would just lie there." She might have added "dead."

Both the story of Snow White and the history of Betty present a "red-white" polarity. This can be regarded as a symbolic expression of a conflict between passion and serenity, sexuality and chastity, animation and death. Even the poisoned apple was half red and half white and only the red half contained the poison. Thus is the conflict repeated in an object which since the Book of Genesis has stood as a symbol of love and sexuality.

In fairy stories everything generally turns out for the best, the prince marries the princess and the wicked ones

perish. In the story of Snow White the wicked step-mother had to dance at the wedding in red-hot iron shoes until she was dead. Did she have Raynaud's disease?

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Catastrophic Reactions In Normals*

A Note on the Dynamics of the Psychic Unity of Mankind

By

George Devereux Ph. D.

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Psychoanalysis, as a science, is based upon the assumption of the biological unity of mankind, which, in turn, co-determines its (possibly antecedent?) psychic unity.

The biological unity of mankind is challenged on a broad front only by the "philosophers" of racism, whose arguments may be safely ignored in a scientific study. On a somewhat more specific level, the biological unity of mankind, *as a determinant of its psychic unity*, is, in part, questioned by students of constitutional typology, who, while admitting the existence of an overall biological and psychic unity, do not concede the uniformity of human reactions of a finer and more specific type.

The psychic unity of mankind is challenged on a broad front by excessive environmentalists, whose arguments are often quite as ludicrous as those of the racists. On a more cogent level, students of cultural relativism concede the broad, overall psychic unity of the human species, but tend to emphasize the influence of cultural variables at the expense of human constants. Specifically, one of the major tasks confronting psychoanalysis today is the study of the locus of the boundary-line between psychic mechanisms determined predominantly by the biological unity of mankind, and those determined predominantly by the cultural diversity of human backgrounds, or of the structured fields through which the organism-as-a-whole moves 3).

Techniques of Proof. The psychic unity of mankind is principally demonstrated by presenting, side by side, similar incidents from various societies, occurring at various times in history. I have labelled this procedure a demonstration, rather than a proof in the narrowest sense of that word, because it is, in the last resort, productive of intuitive conviction rather than of logical certainty. This point is made evident by the fact that the following criticisms can usually be levelled against demonstrations consisting in the juxtaposition of two "similar" incidents, which took place in different societies, or at different times in history:

- (a) The overall settings in which these phenomena occurred were not identical.
- (b) The motivation of the *dramatis personae*, being culturally determined, may have been different.
- (c) The evaluation of, and reaction to the phenomena in question of contemporary spectators and commentators may have been different.

It is the primary purpose of this note to give some evidence indicating that a diligent perusal of anthropological and historical material can provide us with pairs of incidents occurring in widely separated areas and at different periods of history, which cannot be brushed aside with references to any of the three types of objections listed above. I, therefore, propose to describe two sets of incidents which occurred during the reign of Genghis-Khan in 1221 A.D., and one recent example, which took place in Nazi-occupied Poland, which seem to me strictly comparable in every respect. In fact, since it is known that Hitler and his group made a careful study of Genghis-Khan's methods of warfare [e.g. the utilization of prisoners of war to spearhead attacks 8] and of terrorism 1), it must be assumed that, even on the conscious level, incidents of the type to be reported below were identically motivated, and, obviously, did produce precisely the intended results. It should also be noted that contemporary sources are cited, in order to illustrate the identity of the evaluation of these incidents by contemporary ob-

servers, who, in each case, were members of the terrorized and enslaved groups: Mohammedans in the case of the incidents from Genghis-Khan's reign, and Jews in the case of the Polish incidents.

I. MONGOL TERRORISM

(1) *The Nessa Incident:* The city of Nessa, a major center of the Khwarezmian Empire, was located just north of the Atrek River, close to the present frontier between contemporary Persia and Asiatic Russia. It was conquered by the Mongols in 1221 A.D. The incident was described by Mohammed Nessawi (Mohammed of Nessa), a contemporary chronicler, whose account is summarized by René Grousset, as follows: "Terror and prostration were such that no one thought of resisting. When Nessa was taken, the Mongols gathered the inhabitants in the plain, and ordered them to tie each other's hands behind their backs." Grousset then quotes verbatim from Mohammed Nessawi's text: "They obeyed;—had they scattered and fled to the neighboring mountains, the majority would have saved itself. When they were garroted, the Mongols surrounded them and indiscriminately shot down with their arrows men, women and children." 8)

(2) *The Nishapur Incident:* The city of Nishapur, which was one of the important fortresses of the Khwarezmian Empire, is located in the northeast corner of contemporary Persia. Its conquest, after bitter fighting, in 1221 A.D., ended in so incredible a massacre, that only 400 artisans, deported to Mongolia, seem to have survived. The incident, described by Ibn Athir, is quoted *in extenso* by Harold Lamb 10): "So great was the dread that Allah put into all hearts, things happened that are hard to believe. Someone told me that a Tatar (Mongol) rode alone into a village with many people, and set himself to kill them, one after the other, without a person daring to defend himself. I heard also that one Tatar (Mongol), wishing to kill a

prisoner of his and finding himself without a weapon, ordered his captive to lie down. He went to look for a sword, with which he killed the unfortunate, who had not moved. Some one said to me, 'I was on the road with 17 other men. We saw a Tatar (Mongol) horseman come up to us. He ordered us to tie up our companions, each man to bind the other's arm behind his back. The others were beginning to obey him, when I said to them: "This man is alone. Let us kill him and escape." They replied, "We are much too afraid." "But this man will kill you," I said. "Let's do for him, and perhaps Allah will preserve us." Yet, by my faith, not one of the seventeen dared do it. So I killed the Tatar (Mongol) with a blow of my knife. We all ran away and saved ourselves!"'

II. HITLER'S TERRORISM.

The following account of an incident, which occurred in Nazi-occupied Poland, is quoted from the periodical *Commentary* 9): "I had a letter from a man from my native town who escaped and is now in camp (D. P. Camp) in Germany. He saw it all. Five hundred Jews were herded along by one German soldier, and they didn't even dream of defending themselves. They could have torn him to pieces, but they didn't even try. . . . They (the Palestinian Jews) feel bitter and sad that five hundred Jews in Poland were led to extermination by one German."

The passive panic of the Witoto Indians, of South America, ruthlessly terrorized by the employees of a rubber company, which occurred approximately fifty years ago 6), closely parallels the above incidents, but is not quoted because it was not recorded by a Witoto Indian historian. Masses of comparable data have also been recorded by P. A. Sorokin 11).

INTERPRETATION:

This panic-reaction in normals closely resembles three other panic reactions, the last of which may probably be the prototype of all panic reactions in general.

(1) *Organic Reactions:* The reactions described above closely resemble the "catastrophic reaction" of patients with brain injuries, described by Goldstein 7). This reaction is essentially an adaptation to the decrease of one's potentialities of coping successfully with the contingencies of the environment. From the *environmental viewpoint* the catastrophic reaction consists in the purposive avoidance of all situations with which the patient is no longer able to cope. From the *behavioral viewpoint* the patient seeks to avoid the risk of having to engage in unpremeditated and non-standardized activity. In other words, both environmentally and behaviorally, there is a "*purposive constriction*" of the range of experience and behavior, which implies, first and foremost, a certain rigidity and loss of spontaneity, and a need to follow only the beaten track, i.e., to persevere, at least figuratively, in daily routine.

(2) *The Schizophrenic Reaction:* The "organic" catastrophic reaction resembles in turn the psychological catastrophic reaction of schizophrenics, which, as I have shown elsewhere 2), is one of the basic mechanisms and principal characteristics of the schizophrenic reaction-type. On the logical level, it manifests itself in a tendency to use almost exclusively the process known as "*extrapolation*," while on the structural level it leads to a homogenization, dedifferentiation, and consequent involution, of the external world. This finding, published in 1939, has since been independently confirmed by Goldstein's work. In brief, whereas the catastrophic reaction of organic brain-injury patients is due to a *constriction* of the range and scope of their own potentialities, the catastrophic reaction of the schizophrenic may be due to an attempt to simplify, by means of distortion, constriction and dedifferentiation, a universe which has suddenly *expanded* to monstrous proportions. This, of course, produces a sense of (exogenous) helplessness, strictly comparable to the (endogenous) helplessness of brain injury cases.

(3) *Catastrophic Anxiety Reaction.* Dynamically the

"normal," the "organic" and the "schizophrenic" catastrophic reactions are patterned upon the panic reactions felt when distorted Id-representatives threaten to invade Ego-territory. 4) In this instance it is the monstrous luxuriance of impossible and "incomprehensible" (i.e., ego-dystonic) Id-representatives which suddenly becomes unmanageable. It should be noted that this distorted luxuriance of Id-representatives was shown by Freud 5) to be a fundamental characteristic of the *repressed* instincts, though *not*, as is often erroneously believed by the anti-instinctually oriented, of the *unrepressed* instincts. (*)

Metapsychologically, the descriptive and dynamic identity of "normal", "organic", "schizophrenic" and "neurotic anxiety" catastrophic reactions is not in the least surprising, since all human reactions are channelled through the same organism, whose possibilities, and possible range of reactions are, by definition, limited. This, of course, is simply another way in which the basic psychic unity of mankind can be stated.

(*) It cannot be repeated sufficiently often that the "atom-bomb" or "booby-trap" conception of instincts has no standing in sound psychoanalytic theory and practice, if for no other reason, then because, without the constructive forces of Eros and of genital sexuality, all psychotherapy would become impossible. Cf, Devereux, G. **Reality and Dream**, New York 1950.

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The Murder of Moses

by

William H. Desmonde

Freud's hypothesis that Moses was killed during a desert rebellion was based partially on the Biblical text.

" . . . those who felt themselves kept in tutelage, or who felt dispossessed, revolted and threw off the burden of a religion that had been forced on them . . . the savage Semites took their destiny into their own hands and did away with their tyrant.

" . . . The account of the 'wandering in the wilderness'—which might stand for the time of Moses' rule—describes a series of grave revolts against his authority which, by Jahve's command, were suppressed with savage chastisement. It is easy to imagine that one of these revolts came to another end than the text admits." 1)

Let us consider the textual account of the last of the many rebellions which are mentioned:

"Then came the children of Israel . . . into the desert of Zin. . . .

"And there was no water for the congregation: and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron.

"And the people chode with Moses, and spake, saying, Would God that we had died when our brethren died before the Lord!

"And why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord unto this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there?

"And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomengranates; neither is there any water to drink.

"And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the assembly unto the door of the tabernacle of the congrega-

tion, and they fell upon their faces, and the glory of the Lord appeared unto them.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.

"Take the rod, and gather thou the assembly together, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes; and it shall give forth his water, and thou shalt bring forth to them water out of the rock: so thou shalt give the congregation and their beasts drink.

"And Moses took the rod from before the Lord, as he commanded him.

"And Moses and Aaron gathered the congregation together before the rock, and he said unto them, Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?

"And Moses lifted up his hand, and with his rod he smote the rock twice: and the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their beasts also.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.

"This is the water of Meribah; because the children of Israel strove with the Lord, and he was sanctified in them." 2)

The Bible states that God condemned Aaron to die for the sin of striking the rock twice, and that Moses executed him on top of a mountain:

"And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in mount Hor, by the coast of the land of Edom, saying.

"Aaron shall be gathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah.

"Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto mount Hor:

"And strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there.

"And Moses did as the Lord commanded: and they went up into mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation.

"And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount.

"And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel." 3)

Shortly afterward, God commanded Moses to prepare to die for this crime of striking the stone twice.

"And the Lord said unto Moses. Get thee up into this mount Abarim, and see the land which I have given unto the children of Israel.

"And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered.

"For ye rebelled against my commandment in the desert of Zin, in the strife of the congregation. . . ." 4)

Prior to their entrance into Palestine, Moses informed the people of God's judgment against him:

" . . . the Lord was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither." 5)

Later, entreating forgiveness, Moses begged God for permission to enter Palestine.

"And I besought the Lord . . . saying . . .

"I pray thee, let me go over, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon.

"But the Lord was wroth with me for your sakes, and would not hear me: and the Lord said unto me, Let it suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter.

" . . . for thou shalt not go over this Jordan." 6)

God's punishment for Moses' sin is again repeated in Deuteronomy 4.22, as well as in Moses' farewell address to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 31.2. After Moses' final speech to the assembled congregation, God commanded him:

"Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, that is over against Jeri-

cho; and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession.

"And die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people:

"Because ye trespassed against me among the children of Israel at the waters of Meribah-Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin; because ye sanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel." 7)

To recapitulate: (1) the lack of water caused extreme anxiety among the Israelites; (2) this misfortune was blamed on Moses; (3) the people rebelled against Moses; (4) God commanded Moses to bring forth water by striking the rock with the sacred rod; (5) Moses disobeyed God by striking the rock twice instead of once; (6) God put Moses to death as punishment.

Let us interpret this textual account.

The rod was regarded throughout antiquity as a phallic representation of divine political authority. The Roman fasces, for example, was a bundle of phallic rods having among them an ax with the blade projecting, and was carried before the Roman magistrates as a badge of authority. Frazer demonstrated, in "The Golden Bough," that succession to the priest-kingship of the sacred grove of Diana went to that person who seized the golden (phallic) bough from the tree-totem representing Zeus, the divine father.

With regard to the Greek city-states, Glotz writes:

"All the kings were sceptre-bearers . . . the king of the city was so pre-eminently; for his badge of office was the very same which the great god, the ancestor of the dynasty, had borne. . . . This staff of office which subjected the people to the king was the visible will of god. . ." 8)

Since the primitive king was also a magician, the phallic sceptre, or rod, was also the magician's wand. Moses' rod, representing the political authority bestowed upon him by God, was frequently used magically, to control natural processes. In Exodus, this rod was employed as follows by

Moses and Aaron: it became a serpent, swallowing up the rods of Pharaoh's advisers; it turned water into blood; caused the frogs to come up from the streams; generated lice from the dust; brought down thunder, hail, and fire from the sky; produced swarms of locusts; it divided the waters of the Red Sea, enabling the Israelites to pass; and produced a military victory.

The rod as a representation of divinely-conferred political authority played a crucial role in a bloody rebellion against Moses which occurred shortly before Moses' sin. This revolt was led by the influential Korah who, according to the legend, 9) felt that Moses had slighted him in a political appointment. The Biblical text states:

"Now Korah, the son of Izhar . . . took men:

"And they rose up before Moses, with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown:

"And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?"

Apparently a powerful political faction resented Moses' assuming what was regarded as an undue amount of God-ordained political authority.

"And Moses said unto Korah, Be thou and all thy company before the Lord, thou, and they, and Aaron, tomorrow.

"And take every man his censer, and put incense in them, and bring ye before the Lord every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer. . . .

"And Korah gathered all the congregation against them unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and the glory of the Lord appeared unto all the congregation. . . .

"And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them

up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods.

"They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them: and they perished from among the congregation. . . .

"And there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense."

But the rebellion was not crushed by killing the ring-leaders, and it was necessary for Moses and Aaron to resort to large-scale violence, in the form of a plague.

"But on the morrow all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of the Lord.

"And it came to pass, when the congregation was gathered against Moses and against Aaron that . . . the glory of the Lord appeared.

" . . . And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.

"Get you up from among this congregation, that I may consume them as in a moment. . . .

" . . . and, behold, the plague was begun among the people . . .

"Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah.

"And Aaron returned unto Moses . . . and the plague was stayed." 10)

The legend also attests to the continuation of the revolt:

"Peace was not, however, established with the destruction of Korah and his company, for on the very day that followed the terrible catastrophe, there arose a rebellion against Moses, that was even more violent than the preceding one. . . . The kinsmen of those who had perished stirred the flame of resentment and spurred on the people to set a limit to Moses' love of power. . ." 11)

After killing nearly 15,000 people in quelling the revolt, Moses held a type of general election to confirm the power of himself and Aaron. Primitive elections are magical

methods for ascertaining the will of the deity. The early Roman emperors were inaugurated by augurs who interpreted the flights of birds, and the Greek magistrate-priests were chosen by lot. Aaron's divine right to priestly political authority was confirmed by a magical ceremony in which God chose Aaron's rod as the bearer of the divine power. Shortly after the revolt was crushed, God commanded Moses:

"Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of every one of them a rod according to the house of their fathers, of all their princes according to the house of their fathers twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod.

"And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi: for one rod shall be for the head of the house of their fathers.

"And thou shalt lay them up in the tabernacle of the congregation before the testimony, where I will meet with you.

"And it shall come to pass, that the man's rod, whom I shall choose, shall blossom: and I will make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, whereby they murmur against you.

"And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, and every one of their princes gave him a rod apiece, for each prince one, according to their father's houses, even twelve rods: and the rod of Aaron was among their rods.

"And Moses laid up the rods before the Lord in the tabernacle of witness.

"And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witness; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds.

"And Moses brought out all the rods from before the Lord unto all the children of Israel: and they looked, and took every man his rod.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Bring Aaron's rod again before the testimony, to be kept for a token against

the rebels; and thou shalt quite take away their murmurings from me, that they die not." 12)

That is to say, when God commanded Moses to keep Aaron's rod as a "token against the rebels," in order to "take away their murmurings," Jahveh was approving of Moses' political authority over the rebels, thus preventing further revolts, in which additional people might be killed.

What was the stone which Moses struck twice with the rod?

According to Robertson Smith, holy stones were, not only sacrificial altars, but representations of the deity as well.

. . . it is certain that the original altar among the northern Semites, as well as among the Arabs, was a great stone or cairn at which the blood of the victim was shed. . . . The simple shedding of the blood by the stone or altar consecrated the slaughter and made it a legitimate sacrifice it seems clear that the altar is a differentiated form of the primitive rude stone pillar. . . . But the sacred stone is more than an altar . . . the two are found side by side at the same sanctuary, the altar as a piece of sacrificial apparatus, and the pillar as a visible symbol of embodiment of the presence of the deity the sacred stone is not merely a token that the place is frequented by a god, it is also a permanent pledge that in this place he consents to enter into stated relations with men and accept their service. . . . The stone or stone-heap was a convenient mark of the proper place of sacrifice, and at the same time, if the deity consented to be present at it, provided the means for carrying out the ritual of the sacrificial blood." 13)

We have established that the rod was a symbol of legitimate priestly authority, and that the stone was a sacrificial altar. Furthermore, only a priest, in this case a Levite, was legally entitled to strike the blow which killed the sacrificial victim. The inference can hardly be escaped that, in striking the stone with Aaron's rod, Moses was performing a ritual sacrifice.

The question now arises as to why Jahve commanded Moses to sacrifice a victim.

For primitive man, the social order is identical with the cosmic order; the memory image of the omnipotent father, as supreme law-giver, is projected out into the cosmos, where the father becomes a nature god who controls natural processes. Freud wrote:

" . . . when he personifies the forces of nature man is once again following an infantile prototype. He has learnt from the persons of his earliest environment that the way to influence them is to establish a relationship with them, and so, later on, with the same end in view, he deals with everything that happens to him as he dealt with those persons." 14)

Any disturbance in the social order, any moral transgression, such as violating a law, estranges the deity, thus losing his good will, and bringing a natural catastrophe upon his people.

"If the physical oneness of the deity and his community is impaired or attenuated, the help of the god can no longer be confidently looked for. And conversely, when famine, plague, or other disaster shows that the god is no longer active on behalf of his own, it is natural to infer that the bond of kinship with him has been broken or relaxed, and that it is necessary to retie it by a solemn ceremony. . ." 15)

In the case of the Israelites in the desert of Zin, thirst was torturing every individual, and threatening the community with extinction. In view of the primitive belief that all natural catastrophes are caused by a social transgression which has offended God, it would be immediately felt that some individual, by violating the law of Jahve, had brought about the drought. Some sinner among the people had evoked the god's wrath, and was causing everyone to suffer. An evil transgressor constitutes an impurity in the community, and must be cast out in order to restore the blessings of nature. Jonah was sacrificed for this reason, and it was the plague that fell upon Thebes which caused the discovery

of Oedipus' crime. Frazer has documented this phenomenon at great length, 16) and we know that the Jews always attributed great national calamities, such as military defeats, to their failure to adhere strictly to the laws of Jahveh.

We may reasonably assume that the drought in the desert of Zin caused the anxiety-stricken Israelites to believe that some member of the congregation had committed a transgression, and that atonement to Jahve could be made by purifying the community of this evil person.

" . . . it is the business of the community to narrow the responsibility for the crime, and to free itself of the contagious taint by fixing the guilt either on a single individual, or at least on his immediate kin . . . Hence, when a tribesman is executed for an impious offence, he dies on behalf of the community, to restore normal relations between them and their god. . ." 17)

In striking the stone with the rod, Moses was performing an expiatory sacrifice to purify the community of the sinner who had evoked God's vengeance — the drought. According to this hypothesis, Moses sacrificed a human victim at the stone, in order to obtain water.

This hypothesis gains further weight when we remember that Moses was regarded as a magician. Indeed, so great were Moses' magical powers that he had been able to defeat Pharaoh's magicians and the powerful Egyptian army, merely by using his magic rod.

Frazer has shown that primitive kings in all parts of the world are frequently regarded as magicians who are expected to regulate the course of nature for the good of their people, and who are punished if they fail to do so. 18)

"Of the things which the public magician sets himself to do for the good of the tribe, one of the chief is to control the weather and especially to ensure an adequate fall of rain. Water is the first essential of life, and in most countries the supply of it depends upon showers. Without rain vegetation withers, animals and men languish and die.

Hence in savage communities the rain-maker is a very important personage. . ." 19)

As a powerful magician, and as mediator to the god Jahve, who frequently expressed himself in thunder, Moses could certainly be held responsible for the lack of rain. Rebellion against the tribal rain-maker for failing to produce rain often results in the magician's death.

"The foregoing evidence renders it probable that in Africa the king has often been developed out of the public magician, and especially out of the rain-maker. . . The position of the public sorcerer is indeed a very precarious one; for where the people firmly believe that he has it in his power to make the rain to fall, the sun to shine, and the fruits of the earth to grow, they naturally impute drought and dearth to his culpable negligence or wilful obstinacy, and they punish him accordingly. We have seen that in Africa the chief who fails to procure rain is often exiled or killed. Examples of such punishments could be multiplied." 20)

That Moses' life was in great danger for his failure to produce rain is made clear to us if we consider a previous incident, at Rephidim, in the desert of Sin.

" . . . and there was no water for the people to drink.

"Wherefore the people did chide with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why chide ye with me? wherefore do ye tempt the Lord?

"And the people thirsted there for water; and the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst?

"And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying, What shall I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me." 21)

On this occasion, too, God commanded Moses to strike the rock with the rod, in order to produce water. The pas-

sage here renders obvious the dual nature of the rock — as both altar and abode of the indwelling god:

"Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it. . ." 22)

To summarize: The military leader, Moses, has brought his people out of Egypt, after protracted sufferings and struggles with Pharaoh's army. After successfully leading the Israelites through a series of dangerous campaigns, dissension occurs, led by his powerful and influential rival, Korah, who resents the growing political strength of Moses and his supporter Aaron. The rebellion is crushed by assassinating 250 of the ringleaders, but strong factions among the populace continue the revolution, which is quelled only by extremely severe measures, involving the slaughter of nearly 15,000 of the rebels. Following the unsuccessful revolt, an election is held to confirm Moses' right-hand man in a key governmental post, and this important lieutenant is legally chosen. The election of Aaron is adduced as proof of the justice of Moses' administrative policy.

Shortly afterward, a catastrophe befalls the Israelites. According to the best available scientific knowledge of the day, Moses could have prevented the lack of water. Everyone is agreed that some trouble-maker has caused this disaster, and that plentiful water can again be obtained by executing the evil-doer.

We have noted that primitives frequently offer a human scapegoat as a propitiatory offering to the deity on such occasions. The sacrifice of human victims to obtain good crops is a very widespread phenomenon. 23) The ancient Semites had the custom of sacrificing children in order to avert national dangers. 24) Among the Greeks, "Zeus Lycaeus, in whose cult human sacrifices played a prominent part, was conceived of as a god who sent the rain. It appears from ancient traditions or legends that the idea of procuring rainfall by means of such sacrifices was not unfamiliar to the Greeks." 25)

Let us accept the hypothesis that the primitive Israelites sought to sacrifice a human victim in order to purify the community, and thus to produce rain by propitiating Jahve. The question would then arise as to who was the guilty person who had transgressed Jahve's laws.

We have seen that Moses, as a magician and intermediator to Jahve, was blamed for the water shortage, and that, on at least two occasions, the people were on the verge of putting him to death for this reason.

The situation at Meribah-Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin, can now be clearly grasped. A sacrificial victim was demanded to purify the Israelites of guilt, and Moses was regarded as the evil-doer who had transgressed against Jahve's commands.

We know that a powerful revolt had recently been crushed by Moses, by executing nearly 15,000 rebels. Bitterness and hatred invariably persist among the survivors after an unsuccessful revolution; even after the election of Aaron it was necessary for God to say to Moses, "Bring Aaron's rod again before the testimony, to be kept for a token against the rebels; and thou shalt quite take away their murmurings from me, that they die not."

These discontented, defeated revolutionaries would certainly grasp eagerly at the opportunity of fanning anew the flames of revolt, by interpreting this new catastrophe (the lack of water) as fresh evidence of the injustice of Moses' regime (hence, a transgression against Jahve). If Moses had been ruling in accordance with God's commands, then surely Jahve would have supplied his chosen people with plentiful rain. The lack of water was proof, the rebels would claim, that Moses' claim to political power was perfidious and illegitimate.

On the other hand, Moses, faced with a renewal of civil uprisings, worried over the lack of water, and in a state of anxiety both for his life and for the continuation of the

ethical ideals (monotheism) for which he had fought, suffered, and renounced so much, would be motivated, in all sincerity, to pick upon the most prominent of the remaining rebels as the evil-doer who had, by stirring up resentment among the people, brought down the wrath of Jahve upon the Israelites. Since God had chosen Moses as his earthly representative, then surely a rebel against Moses was a rebel against God. Indeed, Jahve had recently confirmed Moses' authority by making Aaron's rod bloom, i. e., choosing the Levites for the priesthood.

The text states that Aaron and Moses, confronted with revolt at this time, went into the tabernacles to search their conscience — "they fell upon their faces; and the glory of the Lord appeared unto them." Whereupon, God commanded Moses to take the rod, and (according to our hypothesis) kill a sacrificial victim.

Since Jahve had previously told Moses to keep this rod in the tabernacle as witness that the rebels were transgressors against Moses and Aaron, the divinely-appointed leaders of Israel, God's command in this crisis to "take the rod" and kill the evil-doer can only be interpreted as a command to execute the most powerful of Moses' enemies. Thus, in striking the rock with the rod, Moses killed the leader of the rebels. (The term "water of Meribah" means "water of strife.")

According to the text, however, Moses disobeyed God on this occasion, by striking the rock twice with the rod. For this sin, the Lord punished Moses with death.

We know that Moses was a highly ambivalent person, given to sudden fits of irrational rage.²⁶⁾ In Egypt, fearless and self-righteous, he repeatedly dares to threaten Pharaoh, the most powerful man on earth, to his face. It is likely that Moses' sin in striking the stone twice was a manifestation of his lifelong inability to control his temper. Freud himself has mentioned this possibility:

"The Biblical story . . . describes him as choleric, hot-tempered — as when in his indignation he kills the brutal overseer who ill-treated a Jewish workmen, or when in his resentment at the defection of his people he smashes the tables he has been given on Mount Sinai. Indeed, God himself punished him at long last for a deed of impatience. . ." 27)

In striking the rock twice, instead of once, Moses gave vent to his hostility against his father-imago, Jahve. Already in a state of anxiety over the lack of water, Moses was goaded into a fury by the rebellious murmurings of the people. His patience giving way, he disobeyed Jahve by illegitimately putting to death an additional man. By striking the stone twice with the rod, Moses made an unjust use of the political power Jahve had bestowed upon him.

As Freud has shown, any given church, or community of believers, can exist only so long as every member has the conviction that the leader is a good father who loves all the individuals of the group with an equal love. 28) This ideal of justice is embodied in the group's deity, whom the leader either represents or personifies.

Effective political leadership hence requires that the leader at all times exercise justice; injustice is a transgression against the unifying ideal (the God); when the followers come to feel that their leader is not this good father, the community tends to disintegrate. Therefore, a hot-tempered, ambivalent man, such as Moses, who is given to irrational rages, must eventually lose the love of his followers because of these unjust acts, which clearly reveal to the group-members that he does not love all of them equally.

We conclude that Moses, furious at the renewed rebellion, exerted his authority (the rod) unjustly. He took this opportunity to execute two of his political enemies, the second of whom was considered by the Israelites either as innocent, or as not deserving this punishment. Probably,

up to this time, Moses could count on the support of the masses of the people, but this act swung the balance of public opinion against him, since the community felt that he had committed an injustice. Shortly afterward, Moses was put to death.

"So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord.

"And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." 29)

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FOOTNOTES

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